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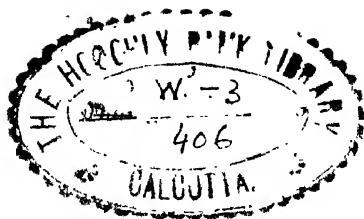
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The Cambridge Milton for Schools.

PARADISE LOST

BOOKS III. AND IV.

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY
AND INDEXES*

BY

A. WILSON VERITY, M.A.

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A. W. V.

BOURNEMOUTH,

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF MILTON.

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet, if not a great controversialist; the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods; but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three.

The three periods in Milton's life.

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling; certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

Born 1608; the poet's father.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a com-

poser¹ whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in the poems². Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated; and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School as a day scholar about the year 1620. He also had a tutor, Thomas *Early training.*

Young, a Scotchman, who subsequently became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. More important still, Milton grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home-life. This was a signal advantage. Most men do not realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University; for Milton, however, home-life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. He was not a precocious genius, a 'boy poet,' like Chatterton or Shelley. Of his extant English poems³ only one, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, was written in his school-days. But his early training had done that which was all-important: it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

Milton entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, commencing residence in the Easter term of 1629. Seven years *At Cambridge.* were spent at the University. He took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year

¹ See the article on him in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*.

² Milton was very fond of the organ; see *Il Penseroso*, 161, note. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain instruction in, music.

³ His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv, cxxxvi, scarcely come under this heading.

left Cambridge. His experience of University life had not been wholly fortunate. He was, and felt himself to be, out of sympathy with his surroundings; and whenever in after-years he spoke of Cambridge¹ it was with something of the grave *impietus* of Gibbon who, unsoftened even by memories of Magdalen, complained that the fourteen months spent at Oxford were the least profitable part of his life. Milton, in fact, anticipates the laments that we find in the correspondence of Gray, addressed sometimes to Richard West and reverberated from the banks of the Isis. It may, however, be fairly assumed that, whether consciously or not, Milton owed a good deal to his University; and it must not be forgotten that the uncomplimentary and oft-quoted allusions to Cambridge date for the most part from the unhappy period when Milton the politician and polemical dogmatist had effectually divorced himself at once from Milton the scholar and Milton the poet. A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University. The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written."

¹ That Milton's feeling towards the authorities of his own college was not entirely unfriendly would appear from the following sentences written in 1642. He takes, he says, the opportunity to "acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, above many of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein I spent some years; who, at my parting after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."—*Apology for Smectymnus*, P. W. III. 311. Perhaps it would have been better for Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a stronghold of Puritanism. Dr John Preston, the master of the college at that time, was a noted leader of the Puritan party. (Throughout this *Introduction* Milton's prose-works, in Bohn's edition, are referred to under the abbreviation P. W.)

Milton's father had settled¹ at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in July, 1632. He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church? This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far-off divine event to which his whole life moved.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great² that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose; it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics. He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less

¹ As tenant of the Earl of Bridgewater, according to one account; but probably the tradition arose from Milton's subsequent connection with the Bridgewater family.

² Cf. Milton's own words, "The Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions." What kept him from taking orders was not, at first, any difference of belief, but solely his objection to Church discipline and government. "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave.... (I) thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."—*Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 482. Milton disliked in particular the episcopal system, and spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

³ Cf. the second sonnet; "How soon hath Time." Ten years later (1641) Milton speaks of the "inward prompting which grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."—*Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 477, 478.

than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts; and the means whereby this end is to be attained are fourfold: devotion to learning, devotion to religion, ascetic purity of life, and the pursuit of *σπουδαίτης* or "excellent seriousness" of thought.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1638. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book, the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations: that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself; the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education; ranging the whole world of classical antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being; learning, too, all of art, especially music, that contemporary England could furnish; wresting from modern literatures² (especially Italian) their last secrets; and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well-ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and scholarship³. It says much for the poet that he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning².

¹ He was closely familiar, too, with post-classical writers like Philo and the neo-Platonists; nor must we forget the mediæval element in his learning (see *Appendix passim*), due often to Rabbinical teaching.

² See pp. li—liii.

³ Milton's poems with their undercurrent of perpetual allusion are the best proof of the width of his reading; but interesting supplementary evidence is afforded by the commonplace book discovered in 1874, and printed by the *Camden Society*, 1876. It contains extracts from about 80 different authors whose works Milton had studied.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Archides*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain; but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. We have spoken of them elsewhere. Here we may note that four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his "sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse; and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyrici vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. He had long made himself a master of Italian, and it was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle; whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his

Travels in Italy; close of the first period in his life.

Cause of his return to England.

position very clearly. "I considered it," he says, "dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom." And again: "Perceiving that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings, inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that, above all things, I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry."

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England.

Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati.

The second period, 1640-1660. Milton abandons poetry.

Lycidas was the last of the English lyrics: the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political animus. Other interests¹ filled his thoughts—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Established Church (*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of

Pamphlets on the Church and Education.

Episcopacy was the watch-word of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews.

¹ Milton seems to have cherished some hope of beginning a great poem as late as 1641—2; probably the latter year marked his final surrender of the scheme.

This led to consideration of the best educational methods; and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married¹. The marriage proved unfortunate. Its immediate outcome was the pamphlet on Divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Areopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645² he edited the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I., *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared

¹ His wife (who was only seventeen) was M.^{rs} Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July 1643, and refused to return to Milton; why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty-seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P. L.* x. 909—936, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *Samson Agonistes* must have been inspired by the same cause.

² i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—6, with the following title page:

"*Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappell; and one of His Majesties private Musick.*

—————*Baccare frontem*

Cingile, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro. VIRG. *Ecl.* 7.

Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard. 1645."

From the prefatory Address to the Reader, it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as

earlier in the same year.¹ Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state-papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state², gave him a practical insight into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action; in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted; controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight. *The advantage of the post.*

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Eikon Basilike*. The book was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a *Milton's writings on behalf of the Commonwealth.*

he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title-page to mark its importance.

¹ A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, hisping jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

² There is no proof that Milton ever had personal intercourse with Cromwell and Mr. Mark Pattison implies that he was altogether neglected by the foremost men of the time. Yet it seems unlikely that the Secretary of the Committee should not have been on friendly terms with some of its members. Vane, for example, and Whitelocke.

sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it. This he did with *Eikonoklastes*, introducing the wholly unworthy sneer at Sidney's *Arcadia* and the awkwardly expressed reference to Shakespeare¹. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, over the preparation of which he lost what little power of eyesight remained². Salmasius retorted, and died before his second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued :

His blindness. Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute ; while the subsequent development of the

¹ See *L'Allegro*, 133, note. It would have been more to the point to remind his readers that the imprisoned king must have spent a good many hours over La Calprenède's *Cassandre*.

² Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood : "from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever left my lessons and went to bed before midnight. This was the first cause of my blindness." Continual reading and writing must have increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book-work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision. The choice lay between private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639. "In such a case I could not listen to the physician, not if Æsculapius himself had spoken from his sanctuary ; I could not but obey that inward monitor, I know not what, that spoke to me from heaven.....I concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this, the greatest service to the common weal it was in my power to render" (*Second Defence*). By the Spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind. He was then in his forty-fourth year. Probably the disease from which he suffered was amaurosis. See the *Appendix* (pp. 120, 121) on *P. L.* III. 22—26. Throughout *P. L.* and *Samson Agonistes* there are frequent references to his affliction.

controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawl of the market-place :

• “Not here, O Apollo,
Were haunts meet for thee.”

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660¹ the ruin of Milton's political party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet.

The Restoration releases Milton from politics. Return to poetry.

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—1660, and a word may be said here. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There

Should Milton have kept apart from political life?

are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife: fierce controversy can benefit no man: who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled: Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing: another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas*: that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the “inheritor of unfulfilled renown” is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic. Mr Mark Pattison writes very much to this effect.

One reply to this question.

¹ The date 1660 must not be pressed too closely. As a matter of strict detail, Milton probably began *Paradise Lost* in 1658; but it was not till the Restoration in 1660 that he definitely resigned all his political hopes, and became quite free to realise his poetical ambition.

² The changes in his political views cannot be traced here.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, could never have been written¹. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem; they could only be obtained through commerce with the world; they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books: we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so: and it is not so because at the age of thirty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country; like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon: Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers; a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man, he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things, *not² presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have within himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.*" Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs³."

Truth usually lies half-way between extremes: perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by

¹ This is true of *Samson Agonistes* too.

² The italics are mine.

³ *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 481.

much impurity. No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places¹ where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes:

O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds:
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare; the sympathy and sense of the *lacrime rerum*, that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects many of the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity. He is stern, unbending, austere, and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for twenty years of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright; but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—1674, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator.

From the Restoration to Milton's death.

¹ Sonnet CXI.

Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. We trace its history later on. At present it suffices to observe that the poem was begun about 1658; was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third¹ marriage; revised from 1663 to 1665; and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision; and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of his *Poems*, adding most of the Sonnets² written in the interval. The last four years of his life were

¹ Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the Sonnet, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

² The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty-three (if we exclude the piece on "The New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638—9. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the Cambridge ms.) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (XV. XVI. XVII. XXII.) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were first published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694. The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which the late Rector of Lincoln College edited a well-known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (Garnett's *Life of Milton*, p. 175).

devoted to prose works of no particular interest to us¹. He continued to live in London. His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his. Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden², who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise³ *Paradise Lost*. It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation.

Milton died in 1674, November 8th. He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate. When we think of him • *His death.* we have to think of a man who lived a life of very singular purity and devotion to duty; who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius; who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*.

¹ The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *Samson Agonistes*. The discovery of the ms. of this treatise in 1823 gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton.

² The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation; but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674). Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Roman Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too."

• ³ See Marvell's "Commendatory Verses" 17—30, and the *Notes*, pp. 72, 73.

PARADISE LOST.

We have observed that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy: as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies; and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet*. The *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his "native language," to assist him^o in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some "grave subject:"

Early indications of Milton's resolve to compose a great work.

"Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful unity.

Then sing of secret things that came to pass
While beldam Nature in her cradle was."

But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a humorous *descende caelo*; and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. This *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno ætatis XIX*. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet;

secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest 'arguments,' challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri vates* of inspired verse, the elect few whose *Ambitious character of his scheme.* poetic appeal is to the whole world. A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle-gaze: he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ; howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished¹.

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length:

"How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year!
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
 That I to manhood am arrived so near;
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endureth.
 Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven;
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task-Master's eye."

¹ A passage in the sixth *Elgy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* (see Pitt Press ed. pp. lxxv, xxv) was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. The *Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter; it breaks off with the notice—"This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects; the list of schemes in the Trinity MS. has the entries "Christ born, Christ bound, Christ crucified."

Mr Mark Pattison justly calls these lines "an inseparable part of Milton's biography": they bring out so clearly the poet's solemn devotion to his self-selected task, and his determination not to essay the execution of that task until the time of complete "inward ripeness" has arrived. The *Sonnet* was one of the last poems composed by Milton during his residence at Cambridge. The date is 1631. From 1632 to 1638 was a

Self-preparation for his project; shown in his letters.

period of almost unbroken self-preparation, such as the *Sonnet* foreshadows. Of the intensity of his application to literature a letter written in 1637 (the exact day being Sept. 7, 1637) enables us to judge.

"It is my way," he says to Carlo Diodati, in excuse for remissness as a correspondent, "to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits. From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions¹." But these exertions were not sufficient: the probation must last longer. In the same month, on the 23rd, he writes to the same friend, who had made enquiry as to his occupations and plans: "I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Diodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak, without blushing, in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? *πτεροφύω*, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly; but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air²." Four years later we find a similar admission—"I have not yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies³."

Encouraged by friends in Italy and at home.

This last sentence was written in 1640 (or 1641). Meanwhile his resolution had been confirmed by the friendly and flattering encouragement of

¹ *P. W.* III. 492.

² *P. W.* III. 495.

³ *P. W.* II. 476.

Italian *servants*—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage¹:

"In the private Academies² of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles³ which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance, above what was looked for; and other things⁴, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up among them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side of the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting: at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style. He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in

First choice of a subject: the Arthurian legend; date 1638—1639.

¹ *Church Government*, P. W. II. 477, 478; a few lines have been quoted in the *Life* of Milton.

² He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc.

³ i.e. Latin pieces; the *Elegies*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylva*, were written before he was twenty-one.

⁴ Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Salsillum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the "other things" comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience—and they the indulgence to praise.

the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylvæ* under the title *Mansus*. In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat. “May I,” he says, “find such a friend¹ as Manso,”

*Siquando² indigenas revocabo, in cœmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos Illeas, et—O modo spiritus, adsit—
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!*

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, his account being far more detailed:

*Ipse³ ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,*

¹ i.e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples; and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem.

² “If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below; or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry.”

³ “I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing o’r southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus’ daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin’s craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, all life be lent me, shall hang on some serene pine, forgotten of me; or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains.” In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina* = Kentish. The story of Arthur’s birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse; *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* iv. 689):

*Biennumque Arviragumque ducis, priscumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armorico Britonum sub lege colonos,
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Fogermen;
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gordius arma,
Meriam datus, O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
Tu procul unnos pendebis, fistula, pinu,
Multum oblita mihi, aut patens mutata Camænis
Brittonicum strides*

Here, as before, he first glances at the stories which date from the very dawn of British myth and romance, and then passes to the most fascinating of the later cycles of national legend—the grey traditions that cluster round the hero of the *Idylls of the King*, the son of mythical Uther. And this passage, albeit the subject which it indicates was afterwards rejected by Milton, possesses a twofold value for those who would follow step by step, the development of the idea which had as its final issue the composition of *Paradise Lost*. For, first, the concluding verses show that whatever the theme of the poem, whatever the style, the instrument of expression would be English—that “native language” whose help Milton had petitioned in the *Vacation Exercise*. An illustration of his feeling on this point is furnished by the treatise on *Church Government*. He says there that his work must make for “the honour and instruction” of his country: “I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed...to fix all the industry and all the art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue...to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, might do for mine¹.” Here is a clear announcement of

*The poem to
be written in
English*

¹ P. W. II. 478. Reference has been made so frequently to this pamphlet on *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, (1641), that it may be well to explain that the introduction to the second book is entirely autobiographical. Milton shows why he embarked on such controversies; how much it cost him to do so, what

his ambition to take rank as a great national poet. The note struck is patriotism. He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

"dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world¹."

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity: what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned: scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now: the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance: and whoso sought to appeal to the "laureate fraternity" of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned. At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands; and when Milton determined to rely on his *patriæ Camæna*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he would have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen, nor ever, as he phrases it, "be once named abroad." And there is some significance in the occasion when he made this declaration. Up till the publication of the *Epitaphium* his friends had known him—to the public he was not even a name—as the composer of a number of pieces of elegiacs not unworthy, at times, of Ovid, and of some almost Vergilian hexameters.

Milton abandons Latin verse.

hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission. His prose-works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism.

¹ *Richard II.* II. 1. 57, 58.

Of his English poems only three¹ had been published—each anonymously. It might have been supposed that residence in Italy, the home of Latin scholarship, would incline him to continue to seek fame as a master of Latinity: yet, as if to dispel this impression, he announces straightway after his return that he intends to discard the rôle of mere scholar, and assume that of national poet.

His desire to be regarded as a national poet.

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connexion, to admit of dramatic treatment. Milton, evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in the *Reason of Church Government*, which represent him as considering whether to attempt that “epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a model...or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation².”

The poem to be an epic.

But ‘dramatic’ introduces a fresh phase; and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be

Summary of impressions.

¹ These were the lines on Shakespeare, unsigned and lost among the commendatory verses prefixed to the second Folio of Shakespeare, 1632; *Comus*, issued by his friend Henry Lawes in 1634, without any name on the title-page; and *Lycidas*, printed in a volume scarce likely to circulate outside Cambridge, and only signed with the initials ‘J. M.’. To these might be added a fourth piece in the *Epitaphion the Marchioness of Winchester*, could we verify the tradition mentioned by Warton that it was originally published in a Cambridge collection of Elegiac verse, about 1631. (I have discussed this point in the *Introduction to Lycidas*, pp. xl.—xli.)

² P. W. II. 478, 479.

amiss to summarise the impressions deduced up to this point from the various passages which we have quoted from Milton. We have seen, then, Milton's early resolve; its ambitious scope; his self-preparation; the encouragement he received in Italy and from friends at home; his announcement in 1638, repeated in 1639, that he has discovered a suitable subject in British fable—more especially, in the legend of the Coming and Passing of Arthur; his formal farewell to Latin verse, in favour of his native tongue; his desire to win recognition as a great national *vates*; and his selection of the epic style.

In respect of chronology we have reached the year 1639—1640. The second period extends from 1640 to 1642. I select these dates for this reason. We shall see that some verses of *Paradise Lost* were written about 1642: after 1642, up till 1658, we hear

*Second stage
in the evolution
of the poem,
1640—1642.*

no more of the poem—proof that the idea has been temporarily abandoned under stress of politics. Therefore 1642 may be regarded as the ulterior limit of this second period. And it is not, I think, fanciful to consider that *Paradise Lost* entered on a fresh stage about 1640, because between that year and 1642 Milton's plans underwent a twofold change by which the character of the poem was entirely altered.

First, the subject for which he had shown so decided a bias is discarded: after 1639 no mention is made of King Arthur. We have no hint of the cause which led Milton to drop the subject; but I would venture to suggest that it lay in his increasing republicanism.

*Change of sub-
ject; Milton
rejects the Ar-
thurian le-
gend.*

He could not have treated the theme from an unfavourable standpoint. The hero of the poem must have been for him, as for the Milton of our own century, a type of all kingly grandeur and worth; and it would have gone sore against the grain with the future apologist for regicide to exercise his powers in creating a royal figure that would shed lustre on monarchy, and in a measure plead for the institution which Milton detested so heartily. Only a Royalist could have retold the story, making it illustrate "the divine

*Possible expla-
nation of this.*

¹ See the notes on *P. L.* XII. 24, 36.

right of kings," and embodying in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Be this as it may, Milton rejected the subject, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem¹.

Secondly, from this period, 1640—1642, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form: now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from 1641. It is manifested in the Milton MSS. at Trinity College. Of these a word must be said.

Change of style, the poem to be—not an epic but—a drama.

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. Among his gifts was a thin MS. volume of fifty-four pages, which had served Milton as a commonplace book. How it came into the possession of Sir Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life, and discharged the office of amanuensis; or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS. passed into his hands. But if the history of the book be obscure, its value is not; for it contains—now in Milton's autograph, now in strange, unidenti-

The Milton MSS at Cambridge

¹ Perhaps he was influenced by discovering, after fuller research, the mythical character of the legend. So much is rather implied by some remarks in his *History of Britain*. Milton with his intense earnestness was not the poet to build a long work on what he had found to be mainly fiction.

fied handwritings—the original drafts of several of his early poems: notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with many of the *Sonnets*. The volume, be it observed, is not (as might be inferred from some descriptions thereof) a random collection of scattered papers bound together after Milton's death: it exists (apart from its sumptuous modern investiture) exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it two centuries and a half ago. And this point is important because the order of the pages, and, by consequence, of their contents, is an index to the order of the composition of the poems. Milton, about the year 1631, had had the sheets of paper stitched together and then worked through the little volume, page on page, inserting his pieces as they were written. They cover a long period, from 1631 to 1658: the earlier date being marked by the second *Sonnet*, the later by the last of the series—"Methought I saw." It is rather more than half way through the MS. that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*.

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem. Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him. Others are more detailed: the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care: the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most. As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn, is indicated. The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British¹: and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest. The former

¹ Cf. the reference to "our own ancient stories," *Church Gov.* II.

are the more numerous class: sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four. Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples:

Abram in Egypt
Josuah in Gibeon. *Josu. 10.*
Jonathan rescu'd *Sam. 1. 14.*
Saul in Gilboa *1 Sam. 28. 34.*
Gideon Idololast *Jud. 6. 7.*
Abimelech, the usurper. *Jud. 9.*
*Samaria Liberata*¹ *2 Reg. 7.*
Asa or Athiopes, *2 Chron. 14 with*
the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol.

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament:

Lazarus *John 11.*
Christ risen
Christus patiens

The Scene in y^e garden beginning from y^e coming thither til Judas betraies and y^e officers lead him away—y^e rest by message and chorus. His agony may receive noble expressions.

Of British subjects there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stories or rather brittish of the north parts." Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous. Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend, which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton; secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem.

Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place. Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall. For no

Prose sketches of the scheme of a poem on the Fall of Man.

¹ The title is an obvious allusion to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost*. Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes. In two at least his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent.

The two first drafts. The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dramatis personæ*—run thus¹; it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other:

the Persons.

Michael
Heavenly Love
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam } *with the serpent*
Eve }
Conscience
Death
Labour
Sickness
Discontent } *mutes*
Ignorance }
with others }
Faith
Hope
Charity

the Persons.

Moses²
Justice³, Mercie, Wisdom
Heavenly Love
Hesperus the Evening Starre
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam
Eve
Conscience⁴
Labour
Sickness
Discontent } *mutes*
Ignorance }
Feare
Death
Faith
Hope
Charity

¹ As they are in the original, without any modernisation. Neither is introduced with any title.

² Milton wrote, "Moses or Michael;" and afterwards deleted or *Michael*.

³ The epithet *divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again.

⁴ After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list; then deleted it, and placed *Death* among the *mutes* (*muta persona*, characters who appeared without speaking).

These lists are crossed out; and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows:

Paradise Lost. The Persons.

Moses *προλογίζει*, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his [being] with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Enah, besides the purity of y^e place, that certaint pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God, tells they¹ cannot se Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thire sin².

Justice }
Mercie } debating what should become of man if he fall
Wisdom }
Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e Creation³.

Act 2.

Heavenly Love
Evening sturre
Chorus sing the marriage song⁴ and describe Paradise

Act 3.

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine
Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall⁵.

Act 4.

Adam }
Eve } fallen
Conscience cites them to Gods examination⁶
Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

¹ They, i.e. the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed. Cf. the commencement of *Comus*.

² After this the first act begins.

³ Cf. VII. 253—260, note.

⁴ IV. 711.

⁵ bks. V—VI.

⁶ X. 97 et seq.

Act 5.ⁱ

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise ^a
presented by an angel with ¹

Labour)

Griefe

Hatred

Envie | ^{c c c}

Warre

Famine

Pestilence ^c

Sicknesses

Discontent

Ignorance

Fear

Death enterd

into y^e world)

Faith }

Hope }

Charity }

Chorus briefly concludes.

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the MS., is not deleted; but Milton was still dissatisfied, and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and concluding, scheme—which reads thus:

Adam unparadis'd ²

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering ³, *shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heaven, describes Paradise. Next the chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from God, and withall expressing*

¹ Cf. bks. XI—XII.

² Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment.*

³ Cf. *Comus*, "The Attendant Spirit descends or enters" (*ad init.*).

his¹ desire to see, and know more concerning this excellent new creature man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing² Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station³ of y^e chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of man—as the creation of Eve with thire love and marriage. After this Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man; the chorus prepare resistance at his first approach; at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs, wher⁴at the chorus sings of the battell, and victorie in heavn against him and his accomplices, as before after the first act⁵ was sung a hymn of the creation. Heer⁴ again may appear Lucifer relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man. Man next and Eve having by this time bin seduct by the serpent appeares conjusely cover'd with leaves; conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehova called for him. In the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, and is inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall; heer⁴ the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then and Eve retorne and accuse one another, but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence. Justice appedres, reasons with him, convinces him. The⁴ chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapes a mask of all the evils⁶ of this life and world; he is humbl'd, relents, dispaire. At last appeares Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught (i.e. draft).

¹ his, i.e. the chorus's; he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun. The irregularity of the style of the whole entry, with its lack of punctuation, shows that it is merely a jotting, such as anyone might commit to a private memorandum-book.

² Passing through; cf. *Comus* 413. ³ i.e. in the third draft.

⁴ Each of these sentences was an after-thought, added below or in the margin. ⁵ See XI. 469—93, note.

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear: as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS. coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme—of which drama the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book IV. (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterward, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other Tragedies*," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag." (i.e. tragedies). Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of any of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated. Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended¹. These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam unparadis'd* would have borne a very marked resem-

¹ These are the two entries in the MS. referred to: *Theristria, a Pastoral out of Ruth*; and *—the sheepshearers in Carmel, a Pastoral*. 1 Sam. 25. There is but one glance at the epical style; in the list of "British Tragedies," after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reign."

blance to *Samson Agonistes*: it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy¹; else he would scarce have written certain verses in *Il Penseroso*². Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare endured long: certainly, within a few years of the period of which we are speaking he penned the unfortunate passage in *Eikonoklastes* which only just escapes being a sneer at Shakespeare; while the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted. So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *toto cælo* from Shakespeare's. In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan. Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries³, those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality. Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the “dramatic constitutions” of Sophocles and Euripides: and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise Lost* we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama—certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*. Milton has kept the “unities” of place and time. The scene does not change; it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audi-

*In the style of
the Greek
drama.*

*This is shown
by the Trinity
MSS.*

¹ See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*, pp. 162—164.

² ll. 101, 102; see note on them.

³ See note on *L'Allegro*, 133, 134 (Pitt Press ed.).

⁴ In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of “our common rhymers and play-writers” as “despicable creatures,” *P. W.* III. 474.

ence (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported. In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger. So here: the temptation by the Serpent is not represented on the scene: it is described, partly by Lucifer, “relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man;” partly by an angel, who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall. Again, the unity of time is observed. The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend, according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists, was twenty-four hours. In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours. * In *Adam unparadis’d* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours. Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes*: that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be¹. Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme. Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs² of Milton’s classical bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS.; and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite

¹ See *Introduction to Samson Agonistes*, pp. xxxiv—xxxvi. *

² Thus, apart from *P. L.*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled *Isaac redeem’d*, *Baptistæ* (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod), and *Sodom burning*. In each the two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used. In *Isaac redeem’d* the incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle’s definition of the ideal tragic hero. Most of the other subjects have a sub-title such as the Greek tragedians employed. To a classical scholar the bearing of such evidence is patent.

Greek poets. But the scheme soon had to be abandoned; and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed, with only a change of subject, in *Samson Agonistes*¹.

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658. In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton "*Paradise Lost*" began the poem as we know it. By then he had gone back to the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry. At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months. But in spite of this interruption, and of his blindness², the epic was finished about 1663. The history of each of his longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loth to let them go forth to the world till that was possible had been done to achieve perfection. It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663; while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiograph*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*." Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision. Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued. On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him. He returned in the next year, 1666;

¹ The point is important because it disposes of the silly notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel. See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*, pp. 162—164.

² According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis; afterwards Phillips would go over the MS., correcting errors, under his uncle's direction.

but again there was delay—this time through¹ the great Fire of London which disorganized business. Not till 1667 *Published.* did *Paradise Lost* appear in print. The date of the agreement drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667. The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667. No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year.

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points¹ of bibliography into which there is no need to enter here; but we must note three things: (i) The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten. (ii) *The first edition.* In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*; these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition. (iii) Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse, and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader*. It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500; and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of.

¹ For example, no less than nine distinct title-pages of this edition have been traced. This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year. The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required. Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title-page as to use the old one. Often the date had to be changed; and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667; four, 1668; and three, 1669. Seven have Milton's name in full; two, only his initials. Mr Leigh Sotheby has collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp. 81—84.

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the subdivision¹ of books VII. and X. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to the respective books to which they severally belonged. Thirdly, a few changes were introduced into the text—few of any great significance. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson; *Paradise Re-* ^{Later editions} *gained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the last century editions² were very numerous.

There is, indeed, little ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contemporaries, and without honour in his lifetime. To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*; but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not

*Was Milton
appreciated by
his contemporaries?*

¹ Milton wrote three fresh lines to introduce bk. VIII. in the new arrangement of the poem, and five lines for the beginning of bk. XII. It was to the second edition that the commendatory verses by Samuel Barrow and Andrew Marvell were prefixed.

² Preeminent among them is Bishop Newton's edition (1749). He was the first editor who took pains to secure accuracy of text, doing, on a smaller scale, for Milton what Theobald did for Shakespeare. His services too in the elucidation of certain aspects (notably the Scriptural) of Milton's learning have never been surpassed.

forget his long identification with republicanism; and there was much in the poem itself—covert sneers and gibes—which would repel many who were loyal to the Church and the Court. Further, the style of *Paradise Lost* was something very different from the prevailing tone of the literature then current and popular. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans, a lonely survival lingering on into days when French influence was beginning to dominate English taste. Even the metre of his poem must have sounded strange to ears familiarised to the crisp clearness and epigrammatic ring of the rhymed couplet¹. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, many whose praise was worth the having were proud of Milton: they felt that he had done honour to his country. He was accorded that which he had sought so earnestly—acceptance as a great national poet; and it is pleasant to read how men of letters and social distinction would pay visits of respect to him, and how the white-winged Fame bore his name and reputation abroad, so that foreigners came to England for the especial purpose of seeing him.

There has been much discussion about the "sources" of *Paradise Lost*, and writers well nigh as countless as Vallombrosa's autumn-leaves have been thrust forth from their obscurity to claim the honour of having "inspired" (as the phrase is) the great epic. Most of these unconscious claimants were, like enough, unknown to Milton; and out of the motley, many-tongued throng Mr Mark Pattison thinks it worth while—perhaps as a concession to tradition—to mention but three.

First comes the Italian poet Giovanni-Battista Andreini². Voltaire, in his *Essai sur la Poésie Epique*, written in 1727, related that Milton, during his residence at Florence in 1638—9, saw "a comedy called *Adamo*," The subject of the play was the Fall of Man: the actors, the Devils³, the Angels⁴, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the

*The supposed
"sources"
of
Paradise Lost.*

*Andreini's
"Adamo."*

¹ Cf. Marvell's "Commendatory Verses," 45—53.

² He lived 1578—1652.

³ i.e. Lucifer, Satan, Beelzebub.

⁴ Among them being the Archangel Michael.

Seven Mortal Sins..... Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject ; which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem." What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say. It is not alluded to by any of Milton's contemporary biographers. It may have been a mere invention¹ by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism. But it has given rise to various conjectures : as that Milton may have met Andreini himself, or may have read² the work, if he did not actually see it represented. All of which is quite possible : but then it is equally possible that none of these things happened. We have only this random remark by Voltaire, unsupported by a scrap of satisfactory external evidence, and not substantiated by any striking internal resemblance between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost*. Even to accept the Voltairean theory were only to admit that Andreini's play may have supplied Milton with a notion of what the subject which is common to the two poets might be made to yield. Seeing the *Adamo* represented, or reading it, Milton may have discovered and been impressed by the "hidden majesty" of the theme : that is like enough : only we could wish some more conclusive testimony than Voltaire's unconfirmed account that Milton did ever either see or peruse the play.

The second claimant is the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel. He was contemporary with Milton, and the author of a great number of works. Among ^{Vondel's} "Lucifer," them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects.

¹ Even Johnson, no friendly critic of Milton, characterised it as "a wild and unauthorised story."

² It had been printed in 1613, and again in 1617. The title-page of the first edition describes the work as "L'Adamo, Sacra Rappresentatione, da Giovanni-Battista Andreini. Milano, 1613." A translation by Hayley was printed in Cowper's edition of Milton. He would be clever who should find aught markedly Miltonic in the *Adamo*: Pope could not (according to Spence, *Anecdotes*).

With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven; *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work¹ published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems—a view from which I beg leave to dissent. It is unsupported by a shred of external testimony; and is intrinsically unlikely.

That Milton had probably heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation; beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands.

Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself: if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator; and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceedingly curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian fiction should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his reputation; and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—Phillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive: it includes

*Were Vondel's
works known
to Milton?*

¹ I allude to Mr Edmundson's *Milton and Vondel* (1885).

Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French: and it does *not* include Dutch—a most significant omission.

In default of external proof those who put forward this ignoble theory of plagiarism have recourse to the test of the parallel passage: they cite what they conceive to be similarities of thought, description and expression between Vondel's three poems and *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. This test is always unsatisfactory—even when the writers compared use the same vehicle of expression, a common language. But applied to writers separated by difference of tongue the test becomes well-nigh worthless. It will prove everything—or nothing: you have only to take passages that treat of the same subject and translate the one, as far as may be, into the actual words of the other, and the charge of plagiarism will seem proved up to the hilt. But the process does not commend itself to impartial critics, and I think that any unbiassed reader who examines these supposed similarities between Milton and Vondel will be of opinion, that the most are merely *The resemblances accidental.*—no similarities at all—and that the few Vondelian passages which may be compared quite legitimately with parts of *Paradise Lost* only serve to illustrate the elementary truth that writers who handle the same themes must meet in periodic points of resemblance¹.

There remains the so-called *Cædmon Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts² of the Old Testament. *Cædmon.* This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been; but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which

¹ This Vondel question is discussed at some detail in an essay appended to my edition of *Samson Agonistes* (Pitt Press Series), pp. 158—168.

² Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most.

several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon¹. The MS. was once in the possession of Archbishop Usher. He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Dujon, commonly called Franciscus Junius. Junius published the MS. at Amsterdam in 1655. Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton²; if so, he may have mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated parts of it. Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture; the question resolves itself perforce into the irritating 'perhaps,' 'may have,' *plus* the inevitable parallel passage. For just as one critic is ready with his "resemblances" from the *Addmo*, and another with reams of crude commonplace from *Lucifer*, so the victims of the Cædmon fallacy have their set of pet parallels betwixt the *Paraphrase* (which in its Old English dress was probably unintelligible to Milton³) and *Paradise Lost*. And though we have mentioned but three of these supposed "sources" of *Paradise Lost*—perhaps three too many—yet there be who shall say how many other works in which "resemblances" have been detected? In fact, what it comes to is this: almost every work (no matter what the language) dealing with the same subject as *Paradise Lost* and written prior to it, has been seized on and made to serve the purposes of the traffickers in parallel passages. Dutch epics

¹ See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of Biography*. There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*.

² This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner; see also Masson, *Life*, vi. 557.

³ In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia* iv. pp. 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an Old English chronicle was not intelligible to him.

(with "the very Dutch sublimity" which Southey discovered in the *Ancient Mariner*); Latin epics and tragedies¹ by German and Scotch and English scholars; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese poems: all bring grist to the mill, and the outcome is a mass—gross as a mountain, open, palpable—of what Dr Masson justly terms "laborious nonsense²."

Now to prove a negative is proverbially difficult; and it is beyond any man's power to demonstrate that Milton was *not* acquainted with Andreini, or *Milton no plagiarist.* Vondel, or Cædmon³, or some of the other writers.

He *may* have known their works: he *may* have been indebted to them for an occasional suggestion. It is an open question: it admits of no decisive settlement one way or the other, because we have no decisive evidence—external or internal. But that Milton "plagiarised" from them; that in any of them lay the "origin" of *Paradise Lost*; that the qualities which have made the epic immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius than that of Milton himself: these are fond delusions, vainly imagined, without warranty, and altogether to be cast out.

We must indeed recognise in Milton's style the impress of four great influences—these being the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature. *The four great influences discernible in Milton.* Of the Bible he possessed a knowledge such as few have had. There are hundreds of allusions to it: the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*; and apart from verbal reminiscences there is much of the spirit that *The Bible.*

¹ There was a Latin tragedy, *Adamus Eul*, by the jurist Grotius. Milton met Grotius in Paris (as he tells us in the *Defensio Secunda*), and quotes him in his prose works. Perhaps he read the tragedy.

² The delusion reached its climax in the monstrous mendacities of William Lauder; for a sample of his libellous malevolence see I. 261—263, note.

³ I may note in passing that "resemblances" every whit as striking as those which are cited from the *Paraphrase* may be found in Cynewulf's

pervades that noblest achievement of the English tongue.

The classics. Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics. Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought

Italian poets. and said. That he was deeply versed in Italian poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved; and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and others in his prose works and correspondence. In

English literature. English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading. Without doubt, he was most affected by "our admired Spenser¹." He was, says²

Dryden, "the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original." And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly

Spenser, and the Spenserian school. Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance. Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victorie on Earth* and *Christ's Triumph in Heaven*; and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island*. The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems³, and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost*. Finally, we must not

Christ by anyone who will study the beautiful edition of that poem lately edited by Mr Gollancz of Christ's College. Yet who would contend that the *Codex Exoniensis*, wrapped in the cloistered obscurity of a chapter-house, was known to Milton? Identity of inspiration (the Scripture) explains similarity.

¹ *Antimadversions*, P.-W. III. 84. On Milton's feeling for Spenser see note to *Il Penseroso* 116—120. * *Preface to Fables*.

² See the *Introduction* to *Comus*, l. xxxviii, and that to *Lycidas*, pp. xlv—xlyi. Phineas Fletcher's *Apollyonists* might also be mentioned (see II. 650, 746, notes). Besides the Fletchers, there was Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist." Milton must have known him at Christ's College.

forget Sylvester. Joshua Sylvester (of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1618, and diversified the profession of merchant with the ^{Sylvester's} "Du Bartas," making of much rhyme, translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet, Du Bartas¹. The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews. The translation was amazingly popular. Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser. There is no doubt that Milton studied Sylvester in his youth; and *The Divine Weeks* is certainly one of the works whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style.

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not "plagiarise;" and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, ^{What constitutes the greatness of "Paradise Lost"} since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of literature. It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever." What has made the poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil; nor the construction, though this is sufficiently artistic; nor the learning, though this is vast; nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope: not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, "the shaping spirit of Imagination," and the mere majesty of the music.

¹ Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*; and rhymed on his own account. Dr Grosart has collected his works into two bulky volumes.

THE STORY OF THE POEM.

A sketch of the action of the whole poem, following the sequence of the twelve books, may be useful to those who are acquainted only with parts of *Paradise Lost* :—

I. The scene, Hell—the time nine days after the expulsion of Satan and his followers from Heaven. They lie on the burning lake, stupefied. Satan first recovers, rouses Beëlzebub, discusses with him their position, and then makes his way from the lake to a “dreary plain” of dry land. Beëlzebub follows; Satan calls to his comrades to do likewise. Rising on the wing they reach the same firm land. Their numbers and names described. They range themselves in battle-array before Satan, who addresses them. They may still (he says) regain Heaven; or there may be other worlds to win—in particular, a new world, inhabited by new-created beings, of which report had spoken: let these matters be duly conferred of. Straightway, a vast palace—Pandemonium—is made, to serve as council-chamber. Here a council is held; only the great Angels are present.

II. The scene—at first—Pandemonium; the debate begins. Satan invites their counsel—“who can advise may speak.” Moloch, Belial and Mammon speak—their several counsels: last Beëlzebub, who reverts to Satan’s hint of the new world. Why not ruin it? or make it their own? or win its inhabitants to their side? What better revenge against the Almighty? The plan approved—but who will discover this world? None volunteer: and then Satan offers to undertake the journey. His offer accepted; the council leaving Pandemonium breaks up; the result announced to the rest of the Angels. How they pass the time till his return—some exploring Hell (now more closely described). Meanwhile he reaches Hell-gates, is suffered to pass by Sin and Death, voyages through Chaos (described), and at

last comes within sight of the Universe hung in space¹ (i.e. Chaos). We leave him directing his course towards the World.

III. The scene—at first—Heaven. The Almighty perceives Satan, points him out to the Son, tells what his design is, and its destined success, tells also that Man will be saved ultimately—if he can find a Redeemer. “The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man;” is accepted by the Father, and praised by the Angelic host. Meanwhile—the scene changing—Satan, having reached the outer surface (described) of the Universe, wanders through various regions (described), until, coming to the single opening in the surface, he descends into the inside of the Universe¹. He arrives at the sphere of the Sun; disguising himself as a young Angel from Heaven, enquires from Uriel, the Sunspirit, the way to Earth—pretending “desire to behold the new Creation;” is directed by Uriel, descends again, and alights on Mt Niphates.

IV. There, pausing awhile, he gives way to regret that he has rebelled, and rage at his outcast state; passion distorts his face, so that Uriel, watching, now knows him for an evil spirit. Thence, recovering self-control, Satan journeys on towards Eden, the main scene (described); sees Adam and Eve (famous description of them); overhears what they say concerning the Tree of Knowledge, and perceives at once the means whereby to compass their fall. At nightfall he essays to tempt Eve in a dream; is discovered by Gabriel, who, warned by Uriel, has descended to Eden to defend Man. A battle between Satan and Gabriel imminent, but averted. Satan flies.

V. The scene still Eden. A further picture of Adam and Eve—their worship and work. Raphael (the scene having changed for a brief space to Heaven) comes to warn them of their danger, at the bidding of the Almighty—so that Man, if he falls, may fall knowingly, by his own fault. Raphael received and entertained; admonishes Adam; explains who his enemy is, and why: which leads to an account of the rebellion in Heaven—its beginning described.

¹ See *Appendix*.

VI. The scene of the events narrated by Raphael Heaven. He describes the three days' war in Heaven, at the end of which Satan and his followers were cast into Hell. The warning to Adam repeated.

VII. The scene Eden. Raphael describes the Creation of the World, which is accomplished by the Son of God.

VIII. The scene the same. Adam enquires concerning the stars and Heavenly bodies; Raphael answers doubtfully. Adam recounts his own first experience of Eden—how the Almighty forbade him to touch the Tree of Knowledge, under pain of what penalty; how he first saw Eve. The day declines, and Raphael departs—once more warning Adam.

IX. The scene the same. „Adam and Eve...go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart.” Adam dissuades; she persisting, he yields. So Satan (in the form of a serpent) finds her alone and tempts her. She eats of the fruit and induces Adam to do so. Their sense of sin and shame.

X. The Son of God descends to Eden, and pronounces doom on Adam and Eve and the Serpent. Meanwhile Satan, returning to Pandemonium, announces the result of his journey, and lo! on a sudden he and his followers are changed to reptiles. Sin and Death now ascend from Hell to Eden, to claim the World as theirs; but the Almighty foretells their ultimate overthrow by the Son, and commands the Angels to make changes in the elements and stars, whereby the Earth becomes less fair. The repentance of Adam and Eve, who seek comfort in supplication of the Deity. The scene has changed often.

XI. The Son interceding, the Father sends Michael to Eden (henceforth the scene) to reveal the future to Adam—above all, his hope of redemption. After announcing to Adam his approaching banishment from Eden, Michael takes him to a high mountain and unroll before him a vision of the World's history till the Flood.

XII. Then he traces the history of Israel after the Flood, till the coming of Christ, with the subsequent progress of Christianity: ending with renewed promise of redemption. The fiery

Cherubim now descend. Michael leads Adam and Eve to the gates of Eden; and they go forth, sad yet consoled with the hope of salvation at the last¹.

MILTON'S BLANK VERSE.

Something must be said concerning the metre of *Paradise Lost*, and first let us glance at the prefatory note, already mentioned, on *The Verse*.

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnations showered on it by Elizabethan critics. Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570) sneers at "our ^{The use of rhyme} rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*,² whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them . and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalfe." "Barbarous" is his darling epithet for rhymed verse Puttenham³ is of a like mind, waving aside "the rhyming poesie of the barbarians," and Webbe⁴ in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "tinkerly verse"—"brutish poesie"—"a great decay of the good order of versifying." Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say. He uses rhyme occasionally in *Samson Agonistes*, in spite of his denunciation of it here; and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight."

¹ Thus *Paradise Lost* conforms with a canon of epic poetry, and does not really close on a note of sorrow.

² *Arte of English Poesie*; in Haslewood, I. pp. 7—9.

³ Haslewood, II. 55.

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist; and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example: to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question; and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a “sage and serious” poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and “other common interludes”), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former.

However, be this correct or not, and superfluous as it may seem to us that Milton should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the “stumbleings” of the unlettered which led him to write this preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr^s Saintsbury¹ calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers: it may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed to single lines or couplets; or diffuse and formless

The “paragraph” in Milton's blank verse.

¹ *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 327.

through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet¹. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

And these combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concent and rhythm—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form: the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous; and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse.

*Rhythm and
balance of his
paragraphs.*

Analysis of the metrical principles on which his lines are based is a thorny matter; but without attempting to go fully into

¹ Cf. the passage from *Gorboduc*, quoted later on.

a subject whereon critics of equal competence hold very dissimilar opinions, we may note a few points, to remember which is to have a key to some of the apparent difficulties of his scansion. First, be it recollected that the quantitative system of metre with which the works of Greek and Latin poets familiarise us does not apply to English. The metrical effects of English verse rest on the principle of accent; and it is convenient to regard an accented or stressed syllable as long—an unaccented or unstressed syllable as short. Secondly, the

*The iambic
basis of blank
verse.*

typical blank verse is a line of five iambic feet, that is, of ten syllables, with five accents or stresses falling on the even numbers, i.e. on syllables 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. These are typical examples:

- "Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings¹."

In its early days, as understood and practised by some pre-Shakespearian writers, blank verse conformed rigidly to this type. "Surely," complained Gascoigne² in 1575, "I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wryting, that there is none other foote used but one. But since it is so...[let] all the wordes in your verse be so placed as the first sillable may sound short or be depressed, the second long or eleuate, the third shorte, the fourth long, the fifth shorte, etc."

That this was the accepted notion of blank verse may be seen from an extract from the piece which enjoys the honour of being the first specimen of English classical tragedy—*Gorboduc* (1561):

"Why should I live and linger forth my time,
In longer life to double my distress?
O me most woeful wight! whom no mishap
Long ere this day could have bereaved hence:

¹ *P. L.* iv. 763, 764.

² *Certaine Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575 (Arber's ed. p. 34).

Mought not these hands by fortune or by fate
Have pierced this breast, and life with iron rest?¹?"

And so on, through scene after scene.

No one who recalls the history of blank verse will be surprised that it should have been of this strict iambic type. The impulse to abandon rhyme and to substitute a blank or unrhymed measure was a phase of the classicism fostered by the Renaissance.

The use of unrhymed metre due to classical influence

The standard to which critics appealed then at every turn was the practice of the Greeks and Romans; and it was under this classical tyranny that certain critics and scholar-poets surrendered the native principle of rhyme, and evolved a monotonous iambic line—the "pure iambic" as Campion calls it—which was considered to be a good substitute for the Greek senarius. True, the Greek senarius was a foot longer, and admitted other feet than the iambus; but the Elizabethan critics deemed that their decasyllabic line, with its five unvarying accents, was a very tolerable equivalent for the metre of Sophocles and Euripides. Saith Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570), "I am sure, our English tong will receiue *carmen Iambicum* as naturallic, as either *Greke* or *Latin*." So thought others: and for a brief while *carmen iambicum* had much vogue. But public taste soon rebelled against this single-foot measure, and then there came into being the "licentiate iambic²:" that is, a measure in which the iambic predominated, but which permitted the presence of other feet—notably the trochee. In the hands of the dramatists—to Marlowe be the chief honour given—this "licentiate iambic" developed into "blank verse."

Now that Milton's blank verse is "licentiate"—in that it admits *dissyllabic* feet which are not iambi—few critics, I opine, would dispute. Let us glance at these *dissyllabic*, non-iambic, feet.

Dissyllabic variations from the iambic type in Milton.

A dissyllabic foot may be of four kinds: an

¹ Videns's speech at the beginning of Act iv.—one of the most vigorous in the play.

² The phrase is Thomas Campion's *Art of English Poetrie*, 1602—see Haslewood, II, 168).

iambus=a short syllable followed by a long; a trochee=long followed by a short; a spondee=two longs; a pyrrhic=two shorts. Examples of dissyllabic variations are not

*His use of
Trochees.*

far to seek. Here are lines with trochees in the italicised parts :

"Rise out | of chaos: or if Sion hill¹."

"In the | visions | of God. It was a hill²."

"On a sunbeam | swift as | a shooting star³."

"Instruct me, for thou know'st; | thou from | the first⁴."

"Which of us who beholds the bright | surface⁵."

It will be seen that a trochee is admitted in any foot of the verse; but it is most common in the first, giving the line a vigorous impetus; less common in the third and fourth places; rare in the second, and very rare in the fifth. Sometimes we have two trochees in the same line—these being examples :

"uni|versal | reproach, far worse to bear⁷."

"uni|versal|ly adorned with highest praises⁸."

Of Spondees. Here, again, are instances of a spondaic rhythm⁹:

"Wide-wa|ving, all approach far off to fright¹⁰."

"Hall Són | of the | Móst Hlgh |, heir of both wólds¹¹."

¹ P. L. I. 10.

² XI. 377.

³ IV. 556.

⁴ I. 19.

⁵ VI. 472.

⁶ My authority is Mr Bridges. He treats these trochaic feet as "inversions of rhythm;" but as they are really trochees, it seems simpler to call them accordingly. I believe that one of the first writers to admit the trochee into blank verse was Marlowe; he limits it to the first, third and fourth feet. In Shakespeare, as in Milton, it occurs in all five, though oftenest in the first. It generally comes after a pause or an emphasised monosyllable, and emphasises the sense of the word on which the accent is so shifted. For double trochees in Shakespeare, cf., perhaps, *Cymbeline*, I. 3. 7, "Senseless | linen! | happier therein than I"; and *Comedy of Errors*, I. 1. 151, "Therefore, | merchant, | I'll limit thee this day." (Abbott's *Shakespearean Gram.* pp. 328—330.)

⁷ P. L. VI. 34.

⁸ *Samson Agonistes*, 175.

⁹ "I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which 'Spondee' is the best name, and it would be difficult to characterise many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic" (Masson).

¹⁰ XI. 121.

¹¹ P. R. IV. 633.

As a pyrrhic consists of two short or unaccented syllables, it is obvious that any line in which one occurs must contain less than the normal number of five accents. *Of Pyrrhics.* This failure of accent is not uncommon in Shakespeare and Milton. Dr Abbott thinks that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton; but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not essential to a blank verse—rather that for variety sake it is necessary that one or more should be occasionally remitted. The following examples show that this may occur in any¹ of the first four feet:

"*Whether*² upheld by strength, or chance, or fate³."

"*Productive*⁴ in herb, plant, and nobler birth⁵."

"Yet fell: remember, *and* fear to transgress⁶."

"Before the Heavens⁷ thou wert, *and* at the voice⁸."

In the fifth foot there must be some accent, as the last syllable derives a certain stress from the mere fact that it marks the close of the line. Sometimes there is a double failure of accent in the same verse, leaving it with only three stresses; compare the line, "His ministers of vengeance *and* pursuit⁹." The percentage of such verses in Shakespeare is about 7.

• The question of Milton's use of *trissyllabic* feet—anapæsts, dactyls and the like—is more difficult. Where scansion depends not on the fixed quantity of syllables but on a thing so undefined and unfixed as accent there must be difference of opinion. It seems to me clear that he does admit trissyllabic feet into his blank verse, but I do not think that the trissyllabic element is very great. *Trissyllabic variations.*

¹ They occur rarely in the first foot, most commonly in the fourth.

² *P. L.* I. 133.

³ *IX.* III.

⁴ *VI.* 912.

⁵ Note that *Heaven* is constantly treated as a monosyllable; cf. even the *prose* draft of *Adam unparadised*, line 3 (p. xxviii). Another important because frequent abbreviation occurs with *spirit*, which is often monosyllabic; cf. the form *spirit*.

⁶ *III.* 9.

⁷ *I.* 170.

I believe, rather, that many apparently trisyllabic feet were really meant by him to be dissyllabic and must be scanned as such by the application of one or other of the two principles of *elision*¹ and *contraction*.

Elision comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel or syllable must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those numerous cases where the metre shows that a vowel or syllable possesses *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred, or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Here are the commoner elisions.

*Elisions in
Milton's blank
verse.*

(i) "Syllables," says Dr Abbott², "ending in vowels are frequently elided before vowels in reading, though not in writing." This applies largely to monosyllables—prepositions, pronouns, adverbs, and, in particular, the definite article. It explains the scansion of lines like :

"To sound at general doom. The angelic blast³."

"Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'st⁴."

"Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heaven submit⁵."

(ii) An unaccented vowel preceding an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided—in poetry as in colloquial speech. This applies to substantival endings such as *ience*, *ion*—cf. 'patience,' 'visitation'; and to adjectival endings such as *ial*,

¹ For instance an apparent anapaest (—) may often be resolved by elision into an iambus (—), or a dactyl (—) into a trochee (—). Thus in the line "Thorns also and thistles it shall bring forth," if we elide (as I should) the open vowel *o* in 'also' before the following vowel we get an iambus in the second foot—"Thorns al|so and this|ties"; and applying the same principle to the line "On(y) in a bottom saw a pleasant grove," we get a trochee in the first foot. Yet, according to Dr Masson, who rejects such elisions, the former of these two feet is an anapaest and the latter a dactyl.

² *Shakespearean Grammar*, p. 344.

³ XI. 76. The elision in these cases is indicated by the autograph manuscripts of Milton's poems; thus in the *Lycidas* MS. line 33 reads—"Temper'd to th' oaten flute." If Milton elided the *th* in *Lycidas*, we may suppose that he did so in *P. L.*

XI. 170.

XI. 372.

iant, ious, eous—cf. 'ambrosial,' 'radiant,' 'tedious,' 'bounteous.' Such elisions belong to the currency of every-day speech, and scarce need comment. They are, obviously, very numerous.

(iii) Similarly, an unaccented vowel or syllable following an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided: this applies to words like 'power,' 'flower'—'piety,' 'fiery'—and participles such as 'seeing,' 'being,' 'flying.' It clears up the scansion in:

"Is piety thus | and pure devotion paid¹?"

"Then through | the fiery pillar and the cloud²."

"Half flying | ; behoves | him now both oar and sail³."

"He ceased | ; and the Archangelic power | prepared⁴."

(iv) The elision of an unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* is common in Shakespeare and Milton; the combination *er* is most affected thus, especially in participles, e.g. 'glistening,' 'suffering,' 'differing.' So in 'reverence,' 'severous,' 'temperance'; and in the combinations *or* and *ur*—cf. 'pastoral,' 'amorous,' 'unnatural,' 'disfiguring.' Shakespeare and Milton extend the practice to double vowels, as in 'conqueror' (cf. *Julius Caesar* v. 5. 55) and 'neighbouring' (cf. *Henry IV.* III. 1. 90). Many words come under this system.

(v) Mr. Bridges notes that a similar elision occurs when an unaccented vowel is followed by pure *l*—as in 'popular,' 'populars'—or even by *ll*;

(vi) and also before *n*—especially with adjectives like 'luminous,' 'ominous,' and participles like 'reasoning,' 'loosening' (cf. *P. L.* vi. 643), 'enlightening'. The abbreviation of participles thus has become almost the current rule.

Contraction plays a great part in Milton's scansion. Four contractions of the inflections of verbs are specially noticeable and important, these being:—(i) the *'st* Contractions

¹ XI. 453.

² XI. 208.

³ II. 942.

⁴ XI. 126.

⁵ Cf. again the *Lycidas* MS., where we have such elided forms as *watris*=watery, 12, *wastring*=westering, 31; and *wandring* in the *Comus* MS., 39, and *teured* in the *Arcades* MS., 21. With these examples before us it is easy to see how Milton scanned, say, *P. L.* XI. 779, "*Wandering that watery desert* ; I had hope."

⁶ Cf. II. 123.

⁷ Cf. *bating*=battering, *Lycidas* MS., 29.

of the 2nd person singular, indicative present ; (ii) the 'd' of the perfect ; (iii) the 'd' of the past participle ; (iv) and the 'n' of the past participle, as in 'fall'n'='fallen'¹, 'giv'n'='given' &c. Any one who has studied the MSS. of Milton's poems will have observed how careful he is to omit the vowel where the scansion requires the contracted form. Thus, to take the first of these contractions, in the autograph (among the Trinity papers) of the *Sonnet* addressed to Henry Lawes, we find such examples as "Thou honour'st vers," "to honour thee...that tun'st thir happiest lines"; and instances might be multiplied. Indeed, Milton sometimes uses the contracted form when the effect seems distinctly awkward. Again, on the first page of the *Lycidas* MS. we meet with participial abbreviations like 'forc't' (4), 'destin'd' (20), 'nur'st' (23), 'stoop't' (31), and perfects like 'danc't' (34), 'lov'd' (36), 'clos'd' (51). Even in prose Milton appears to have employed the abbreviated no less readily than the full forms. Compare the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*.

That these methods—perfectly regular methods—of contraction² affect the scansion of an enormous number of lines, each can verify for himself; and I think that most students of *Paradise Lost* will come to the conclusion that the iambic rhythm forms the basis of Milton's blank verse. This rhythm is varied, however, (1) by the admission of feet other than iambi, and (2) by the distribution of the pauses³.

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close. *Verses with an extra syllable.* Shakespeare uses them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them.

¹ Spelt *faln* in one of the prose sketches (*Isaac redeemed*) among the Trinity MSS. So in line 2 of the second *Sonnet* the MS. has *stolne*.

² Contractions such as *e'en*=*even*, *e'er*=*ever*, *o'er*=*over* scarcely require comment; *whether*=*wh'er* (i.e. monosyllabic) is more noticeable.

³ Cf. Milton's own phrase "*Variously drawn out*" (*Preface* on "The Verse" of *Paradise Lost*).

There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse—e.g. lines where (i) the supernumerary syllable comes at the close; (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot; (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, "Like one | that means | his proper harm | in *mánacles*" (*Coriolanus* I. 9. 57); and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 230, "Our musty superfluity |. See our | best elders." In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties: in *Paradise Lost* of only two¹—(i) and (iii). This is a fresh illustration of what we have just seen—that the metre of the epic is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character. Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style. Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a conversational rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist. It is typical of Milton's "inevitable," almost infallible, art that he should vary his style according to the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration.

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English *The pause or cæsura.* prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical *cæsura*. Dr Masson notes that Milton's favourite pause is at the end of the third foot. These are typical specimens:

"I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness
And immortality; | that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death: | so death becomes
His final remedy." |

¹ In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected. I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society*; cf. *P. R.* I. 302, "Such solitude before choicest society." ² XI. 57—62.

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot; cf.

"ere fallen"

From innocent¹ |

"Made one with me, | as I with thee am one²."

Scarcely need we say that, in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential.

It remains to note two remarks made by Milton in his preface on *The Verse*.³ One of the elements, he says, of "true musical delight" is "fit quantity of syllables." By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its *natural* accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it. Rather, a poet should be careful to "span with just note and accent⁴," so that each stress should fall naturally, and the "fit quantity" of the component parts of a line not be violated. Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unflinching appropriateness of accent. Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in "apt numbers." Here he referred to that adaptation of rhythm to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton. "What other poets effect," says Dr Guest⁵, "as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art; he studied the aptness of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had gifted with the most delicate sensibility. In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt."

¹ XI. 30.

³ Sonnet to Henry Lawes

² XI. 44.

⁴ English Rhythms, p. 530.

⁵ *English Rhythms*, p. 530.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

God, sitting on his throne, sees Satan flying towards this World, then newly created; shows him to the Son, who sat at his right hand; foretells the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free, and able enough to have withstood his Tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduced. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares that grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of Divine Justice: Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to Godhead, and therefore with all his progeny, devoted to death, must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and, hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Meanwhile Satan alights upon the bare convex of this World's outermost orb; where wandering he first finds a place since called the Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, described ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it. His passage thence to the orb of the Sun; he finds there Uriel, the Agent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel, and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new Creation, and Man whom God had placed here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed: alights first on Mount Niphates.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

HAIL, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born,
Or of the Eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee unblamed? since God is light,
And never but in unapproach'd light
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate!
Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream,
Whose fountain who shall tell? Before the sun,
Before the Heavens, thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle, didst invest 10
The rising World of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite!
Thee I revisit now with bolder wing,
Escaped the Stygian pool, though long detained
In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight,
Through utter and through middle darkness borne,
With other notes than to the Orphean lyre 15
I sung of Chaos and eternal Night;
Taught by the Heavenly Muse to venture down 20
The dark descent, and up to re-ascend,
Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou

Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
 So thick a drop-serene hath quenched their orbs,
 Or dim suffusion veiled. Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
 Smit with the love of sacred song; but, chief
 Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath,
 That wash thy hallowed feet, and warbling flow,
 Nightly I visit; nor sometimes forget
 Those other two equalled with me in fate,
 So were I equalled with them in renown,
 Blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides,
 And Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old:
 Then feed on thoughts that voluntary move
 Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
 Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year
 Seasons return; but not to me returns
 Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
 But cloud instead and ever-during dark
 Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
 Cut off, and, for the book of knowledge fair,
 Presented with a universal blank
 Of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased,
 And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.
 So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate: there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight.

Now had the Almighty Father from above,
 From the pure Empyrean where he sits
 High throned above all highth, bent down his eye,
 His own works and their works at once to view :
 About him all the Sanctities of Heaven 60
 Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
 Beatitude past utterance ; on his right
 The radiant image of his glory sat,
 His only Son. On Earth he first beheld
 Our two first parents, yet the only two • •
 Of mankind, in the Happy Garden placed,
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
 Uninterrupted joy, unrivalled love,
 In blissful solitude. He then surveyed
 Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there, 70
 Coasting the wall of Heaven on this side Night
 In the dun air sublime, and ready now
 To stoop with wearied wings and willing feet
 On the bare outside of this World, that seemed
 Firm land imbosomed without firmament,
 Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
 Him God beholding from his prospect high,
 Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,
 Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake :
 " Only-begotten Son, seest thou what rage 80
 Transports our Adversary ? whom no bounds
 Prescribed, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
 Haped on him there, nor yet the main Abyss
 Wide interrupt, can hold ; so bent he seems
 On desperate revenge, that shall redound
 Upon his own rebellious head. And now,
 Through all restraint broke loose, he wings his way
 Not far off Heaven, in the precincts of light,

Directly towards the new-created World,
 And Man there placed, with purpose to assay 90
 If him by force he can destroy, or, worse,
 By some false guile pervert: and shall pervert;
 For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
 And easily transgress the sole command,
 Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall
 He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
 Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
 All he could have; I made him just and right,
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
 Such I created all the ethereal powers 100
 And Spirits, both them who stood and them who failed:
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
 Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
 Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,
 Where only what they needs must do appeared,
 Not what they would? what praise could they receive,
 What pleasure I, from such obedience paid,
 When will and reason—reason also is choice—
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoiled,
 Made passive both, had served necessity. 110
 Not me? They therefore, as to right belonged,
 So were created, nor can justly accuse
 Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
 As if predestination overruled
 Their will, disposed by absolute decree
 Or high foreknowledge. They themselves decreed
 Their own revolt, not I: if I foreknew,
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
 Which had no less proved certain unforeknown.
 So without least impulse or shadow of fate,
120
 Or aught by me immutably foreseen,

They trespass, authors to themselves, in all,
 Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
 I formed them free, and free they must remain
 Till they enthrall themselves: I else must change
 Their nature, and revoke the high decree
 Unchangeable, eternal, which ordained
 Their freedom; they themselves ordained their fall.
 The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
 Self-tempted, self-depraved; Man falls, deceived, 130
 By the other first: Man therefore shall find grace;
 The other, none. In mercy and justice both,
 Through Heaven and Earth, so shall my glory excel;
 But, mercy, first and last, shall brightest shine."

Thus while God spake ambrosial fragrance filled
 All Heaven, and in the blessed Spirits elect
 Sense of new joy ineffable diffused.
 Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
 Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
 Substantially expressed; and in his face 140
 Divine compassion visibly appeared,
 Love without end, and without measure grace;
 Which uttering, thus, he to his Father spake:

"O Father, gracious was that word which closed
 Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace;
 For which both Heaven and Earth shall high extol
 Thy praises, with the innumerable sound
 Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
 Encompassed shall resound thee ever blest.
 For should Man finally be lost, should Man, 150
 Thy creature late so loved, thy youngest son,
 Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joined
 With his own folly, that he from thee far,
 That far he from thee, Father, who art judge

Of all things made, and judgest only right !
 Or shall the Adversary thus obtain
 His end, and frustrate mine? shall he fulfil
 His malice, and thy goodness bring to naught?
 Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
 Yet with revenge accomplished, and to Hell,
 Draw after him the whole race of mankind,
 By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyself
 Abolish thy creation, and unmake,
 For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?
 So should thy goodness and thy greatness both
 Be questioned and blasphemed without defence."

160

To whom the great Creator thus replied:
 "O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,
 Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,
 All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all,
 As my eternal purpose hath decreed.
 Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will;
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
 Freely vouchsafed. Once more I will renew
 His lapsed powers, though forfeit, and enthralled
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires:
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
 On even ground against his mortal foe;
 By me upheld, that he may know how frail
 His fallen condition is, and to me owe
 All his deliverance, and to none but me.
 Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,
 Elect above the rest; so is my will:
 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warned
 Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
 The incensed Deity, while offered grace

170

180

Invites; for I will clear their senses dark,
 What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due. 190
 To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
 Though but endeavoured with sincere intent,
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
 And I will place within them as a guide
 My umpire Conscience; whom if they will hear,
 Light after light well used they shall attain,
 And to the end persisting safe arrive.
 This my long sufferance and my day of grace
 They who neglect and scorn shall never taste;
 But hard be hardened, blind be blinded more, 200
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.
 But yet all is not done. Man, disobeying,
 Disloyal breaks his fealty, and sins
 Against the high supremacy of Heaven,
 Affecting Godhead, and so, losing all,
 To expiate his treason hath naught left,
 But, to destruction sacred and devote,
 He with his whole posterity must die —
 Die he or justice must; unless for him 210
 Some other, able and as willing, pay
 The rigid satisfaction, death, for death.
 Say, Heavenly powers, where shall we find such love?
 Which of ye will be mortal, to redeem
 Man's mortal crime, and just the unjust to save?
 Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?"

He asked, but all the Heavenly quire stood mute,
 And silence was in Heaven: on Man's behalf
 Patron or intercessor none appeared—
 Much less that durst upon his own head draw 220

The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.
And now without redemption all mankind
Must have been lost, adjudged to Death and Hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulness dwells of love divine,
His dearest mediation thus renewed:

"Father, thy word is passed; Man shall find grace;
And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The speediest of thy winged messengers,
To visit all thy creatures, and to all

230

Comes unprevented, unimplored, unsought?
Happy for Man, so coming! He her aid
Can never seek; once dead in sins and lost;

Atonement for himself, or offering meet,
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring.
Behold me, then: me for him, life for life,
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;

Account me Man: I for his sake will leave
Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
Freely put off, and for him lastly die.

240

Well pleased, on me let Death wreak all his rage:

Under his gloomy power I shall not long
Lie vanquished: thou hast given me to possess
Life in myself for ever; by thee I live.

Though now to Death I yield, and am his due,
All that of me can die, yet, that debt paid,

Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave,
His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul

For ever with corruption there to dwell;

But I shall rise victorious, and subdue

250

My vanquisher, spoiled of his vaunted spoil.

Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop
Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarmed.

I through the ample air in triumph high
 Shall lead Hell captive manure Hell, and show
 The powers of Darkness bound. Thou, at the sight
 Pleased, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
 While, by thee raised, I ruin all my foes,
 Death last, and with his carcase glut the grave;
 Then, with the multitude of my redeemed, 260
 Shall enter Heaven, long absent, and return,
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assured
 And reconciliation: wrath shall be no more
 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire."

His words here ended; but, his meek aspect
 Silent yet spake, and breathed immortal love
 To mortal men, above which only shone
 Filial obedience: as a sacrifice
 Glad to be offered, he attends the will 270
 Of his great Father. Admiration seized
 All Heaven, what this might mean, and whither tend,
 Wondering; but soon the Almighty thus replied:
 "O thou in Heaven and Earth the only peace
 Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou
 My sole complacence! well thou know'st how dear
 To me are all my works; nor Man the least,
 Though last created, that for him I spare
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,
 By losing thee a while, the whole race lost! 280
 Thou therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,
 Their nature also to thy nature join;
 And be thyself Man among men on Earth,
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,
 By wondrous birth; be thou in Adam's room
 The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.

As in him perish all men, so in thee,
 As from a second root, shall be restored
 As many as are restored; without thee, none.
 His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit, 290
 Imputed, shall absolve them who renounce
 Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,
 Shall satisfy for Man, be judged and die,
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise
 His brethren, ransomed with his own dear life.
 So Heavenly love shall outdo Hellish hate.
 Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
 So dearly to redeem what Hellish hate 300
 So easily destroyed, and still destroys
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
 Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume
 Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.
 Because thou hast, though throned in highest bliss
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying
 God-like fruition, quitted all to save
 A world from utter loss, and hast been found
 By merit more than birthright Son of God—
 Found worthiest to be so by being good, 310
 Far more than great or high; because in thee
 Love hath abounded more than glory abounds;
 Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne:
 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
 Anointed universal King. All power
 I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
 Thy merits; under thee, as Head supreme,

Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I reduce: 320
 All knees to thee shall bow of them that bide
 In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
 When thou, attended gloriously from Heaven,
 Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send
 The summoning Archangels to proclaim
 Thy dread tribunal, forthwith from all winds
 The living, and forthwith the cited dead
 Of all past ages, to the general doom
 Shall hasten: such a peal shall rouse their sleep.
 Then, all thy Saints assembled, thou shalt judge 330
 Bad men and Angels; they arraigned shall sink
 Beneath thy sentence; Hell, her numbers full,
 Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Meanwhile
 The World shall burn, and from her ashes spring
 New Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
 And after all their tribulations long
 See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
 With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.
 Then thou thy regal sceptre shalt lay by,
 For regal sceptre then no more shall need; 340
 God shall be all in all. But all ye gods,
 Adore him who, to compass all this, dies;
 Adore the Son, and honour him as me."
 No sooner had the Almighty ceased, but—all
 The multitude of Angels, with a shout
 Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
 As from blest voices, uttering joy—Heaven rung
 With jubilee, and loud hosannas filled
 The eternal regions. Lowly reverent
 Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground 350
 With solemn adoration down they cast
 Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold:

Immortal amarant, a flower which once
 In Paradise, fast by the Tree of Life,
 Began to bloom, but soon for Man's offence
 To Heaven removed, where first it grew, there grows
 And flowers aloft, shading the Fount of Life,
 And where the River of Bliss through midst of Heaven
 Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream.
 With these that never fade the Spirits elect 360
 Bind their resplendent locks, inwreathed with beams.
 Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
 Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,
 Impurpled with celestial roses smiled.
 Then, crowned again, their golden harps they took,
 Harps ever tuned, that glittering by their side
 Like quivers hung; and with preamble sweet
 Of charming symphony they introduce
 Their sacred song, and waken raptures high:
 No voice exempt, no voice but well could join 370
 Melodious part; such concord is in Heaven.

Thee, Father, first they sung, Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King; thee, Author of all being,
 Fountain of light, thyself invisible
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitt'st
 Throned inaccessible, but when thou shadest
 The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine
 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear, 380
 Yet dazzle Heaven, that brightest Seraphim
 Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
 Thee next they sang, of all creation first
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
 In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud

Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
 Whom else no creature can behold: on thee
 Impressed the effulgence of his glory abides;
 Transfused on thee his ample Spirit rests:
 He Heaven of Heavens, and all the powers therein, 390
 By thee created; and by thee threw down
 The aspiring Dominations. Thou that day
 Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
 Nor stop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that shook
 Heaven's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarrayed.
 Back from pursuit, thy powers with loud acclaim
 Thee only extolled, Son of thy Father's might,
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes;
 Not so on Man; him, through their malice fallen, 400
 Father of mercy and grace, thou didst not doom
 So strictly, but much more to pity incline.
 No sooner did thy dear and only Son
 Perceive thee purposed not to doom frail Man
 So strictly, but much more to pity inclined,
 He, to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
 Of mercy and justice, in thy face discerned,
 Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
 Second to thee, offered himself to die
 For Man's offence. O unexampled love!
 Love nowhere to be found less than divine! 410
 Hail, Son of God, Saviour of men! Thy name
 Shall be the copious matter of my song
 Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise
 Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin!
 Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere,
 Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.
 Meanwhile, upon the firm opacous globe

Of this round World, whose first convex divides
 The luminous inferior orbs, enclosed 420
 From Chaos and the ingoad of Darkness old,
 Satan alighted walks. A globe far off
 It seemed; now seems a boundless continent,
 Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
 Starless exposed, and ever-threatening storms
 Of Chaos blustering round, inclement sky;
 Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven,
 Though distant far, some small reflection gains
 Of glimmering air less vexed with tempest loud:
 Here walked the Fiend at large in spacious field. 430
 As when a vulture on Imaus breeds,
 Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
 Dislodging from a region scarce of prey,
 To gorge the flesh of lambs or cyeanling kids
 On hills where flocks are fed, flies toward the springs
 Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams;
 But in his way lights on the barren plains
 Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
 With sails and wind their cany waggons light:
 So, on this windy sea of land, the Fiend 440
 Walked up and down alone, bent on his prey;
 Alone, for other creature in this place,
 Living or lifeless, to be found was none—
 None yet; but store hereafter from the Earth
 Up hither like aerial vapours flew
 Of all things transitory and vain, when sin
 With vanity had filled the works of men:
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
 Built their fond hopes of glory or lasting fame,
 Or happiness in this or the other life. 450
 All who have their reward on earth, the fruits

Of painful superstition and blind zeal,
 Naught seeking but the praise of men, here find
 Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
 All the unaccomplished works of Nature's hand,
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixed,
 Dissolved on Earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
 Till final dissolution, wander here;
 Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dreamed :.
 Those argent fields more likely habitants, 460
 Translated saints, or middle Spirits, hold,
 Betwixt the angelical and human kind.
 Hither, of ill-jointed sons and daughters born,
 First from the ancient world those giants came,
 With many a vain exploit, though then renowned;
 The builders next of Babel on the plain
 Of Sennaar, and still with vain design
 New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build;
 Others came single: he who, to be deemed
 A god, leaped fondly into Ætna flames, 470
 Empedocles; and he who, to enjoy
 Plato's Elysium, leaped into the sea,
 Cleombrotus; and many more, too long,
 Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars,
 White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery.
 Here pilgrims roam, that strayed so far to seek
 In Golgotha him dead who lives in Heaven;
 • And they who, to be sure of Paradise,
 Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
 Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised. 480
 They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed, •
 And that crystalline sphere, whose balance weighs
 The trepidation talked, and that first moved;
 And now Saint Peter at Heaven's wicket seems

To wait them with his keys, and now at foot
 Of Heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when, lo!
 A violent cross wind from either coast
 Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues awry,
 Into the devious air. Then might ye see
 Cows, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost 490
 And fluttered into rags; then reliques, beads,
 Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
 The sport of winds: all these, upwhirled aloft,
 Fly o'er the backside of the World far off
 Into a limbo large and broad, since called
 The Paradise of Fools; to few unknown
 Long after, now unpeopled and untrod.

All this dark globe the Fiend found as he passed;
 And long he wandered, till at last a gleam
 Of dawning light turned thitherward in haste 500
 His travelled steps. Far distant he descries.
 Ascending by degrees magnificent
 Up to the wall of Heaven, a structure high;
 At top whereof, but far more rich, appeared
 The work as of a kingly palace-gate,
 With frontispiece of diamond and gold
 Embellished; thick with sparkling orient gems
 The portal shone, inimitable on Earth
 By model, or by shading pencil drawn.
 The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw 510
 Angels ascending and descending, bands
 Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
 To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
 Dreaming by night under the open sky,
 And waking cried, "This is the gate of Heaven."
 Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
 There always, but drawn up to Heaven sometimes

Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flowed
 Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
 Who after came from Earth sailing arrived, 520
 Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake,
 Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.

The stairs were then let down, whether to dare
 The Fiend by easy ascent, or aggravate
 His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss;
 Direct against which opened from beneath,
 Just o'er the blissful seat of Paradise, ..

A passage down to the Earth, a passage wide;
 Wider by far than that of after-times
 Over Mount Sion, and, though that were large, 530
 Over the Promised Land to God so dear;

By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,
 On high behests his Angels to and fro
 Passed frequent, and his eye with choice regard,
 From Paneas, the fount of Jordan's flood,
 To Beersaba, where the Holy Land
 Borders on Egypt and the Arabian shore.

So wide the opening seemed, where bounds were set
 To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.

Satan from hence, now on the lower stair, 540
 That scaled by steps of gold to Heaven-gate,
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
 Of all this World at once. As when a scout,
 Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
 All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
 Which to his eye discovers unaware
 The goodly prospect of some foreign land
 First seen, or some renowned metropolis
 With glistening spires and pinnacles adorned, 550

Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams:
Such wonder seized, though after Heaven seen,
The Spirit malign, but much more envy seized,
At sight of all this World beheld so fair.
Round he surveys (and well might where he stood,
So high above the circling canopy
Of Night's extended shade) from eastern point
Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
Beyond the horizon; then from pole to pole 560
He views in breadth; and, without longer pause,
Down right into the World's first region throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
Through the pure marble air his oblique way
Amongst innumerable stars, that shone
Stars distant, but nigh-hand seemed other worlds.
Or other worlds they seemed, or happy isles,
Like those Hesperian Gardens famed of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flowery vales,
Thrice happy isles; but who dwelt happy there 570
He stayed not to inquire. Above them all
The golden sun, in splendour likest Heaven,
Allured his eye. Thither his course he bends,
Through the calm firmament (but up or down,
By centre or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude) where the great luminary,
Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenses light from far. They, as they move
Their starry dance in numbers that compute 580
Days, months, and years, towards his all-cheering lamp
Turn swift their various motions, or are turned
By his magnetic beam, that gently warms

The Universe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unseen,
Shoots invisible virtue even to the deep;
So wondrously was set his station bright.

There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
Astronomer in the sun's lucid orb
Through his glazed optic tube yet never saw. 590
The place he found beyond expression bright,
Compared with aught on Earth, metal or stone;
Not all parts like, but all alike informed
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire:
If metal, part seemed gold, part silver clear;
If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,
Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone
In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides,
Imagined rather oft than elsewhere seen—
That stone, or like to that, which here below 600
Philosophers in vain so long have sought;
In vain, though by their powerful art they bind
Volatile Hermes, and call up unbound
In various shapes old Proteus from the sea,
Drained through a limbec to his native form.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable gold, when, with one virtuous touch,
The arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,
Produces, with terrestrial humour mixed, 610
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of colour glorious and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazzled. Far and wide his eye commands;
For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,
But all sunshine, as when his beams at noon

Culminate from the equator, as they now
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
 Shadow from body opaque can fall; and the air,
 Nowhere so clear, sharpened his visual ray 620
 To objects distant far, whereby he soon,
 Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
 The same whom John saw also in the sun.
 His back was turned, but not his brightness hid;
 Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar
 Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
 Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings
 Lay waving round: on some great charge employed
 He seemed, or fixed in cogitation deep.

Glad was the Spirit impure, as now in hope 630
 To find who might direct his wandering flight
 To Paradise, the happy seat of Man,
 His journey's end, and our beginning woe.
 But first he casts to change his proper shape,
 Which else might work him danger or delay:
 And now a stripling Cherub he appears,
 Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
 Youth smiled celestial, and to every limb
 Suitable grace diffused; so well he feigned.
 Under a coronet his flowing hair 640
 In curls on either cheek played; wings he wore
 Of massy a coloured plume sprinkled with gold,
 His habit fit for speed succinct; and held
 Before his decent steps a silver wand.
 He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright,
 Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turned,
 Admonished by his ear, and straight was known
 The Archangel Uriel; one of the seven
 Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,

Stand ready at command, and are his eyes 650
 That run through all the Heavens, or down to the Earth,
 Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
 O'er sea and land. Him Satan thus accosts:

"Uriel! for thou of those seven Spirits that stand
 In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright,
 The first art wont his great authentic will
 Interpreter through highest Heaven to bring,
 Where all his Sons thy embassy attend;
 And here art likeliest by supreme decree

Like honour to obtain, and as his eye 660

To visit oft this new creation round;

Unspeakable desire to see and know

All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,

His chief delight and favour, him for whom

All these his works so wondrous he ordained,

Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim

Alone thus wandering. Brightest Seraph, tell

In which of all these shining orbs hath Man

His fixed seat; or fixed seat hath none,

But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell; 670

That I may find him, and with secret gaze

Or open admiration him behold

On whom the great Creator hath bestowed

Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces poured;

That both in him and all things, as is meet,

The Universal Maker we may praise;

Who justly hath driven out his rebel foes

To deepest Hell, and, to repair that loss,

Created this new happy race of Men

To serve him better; wise are all his ways!" 680

So spake the false dissembler unperceived;

For neither man nor Angel can discern

Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
 Invisible, except to God alone,
 By his permissive will, through Heaven and Earth;
 And oft, though Wisdom wake, Suspicion sleeps
 At Wisdom's gate, and to Simplicity
 Resigns her charge, while Goodness thinks no ill
 Where no ill seems: which now for once beguiled
 Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held
 The sharpest-sighted Spirit of all in Heaven;
 Who to the fraudulent impostor foul,
 In his uprightness, answer thus returned: .

"Fair Angel, thy desire, which tends to know
 The works of God, thereby to glorify
 The great Work-master, leads to no excess
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
 The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
 From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,
 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps, 700
 Contented with report, hear only in Heaven;
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
 Had in remembrance always with delight!
 But what created mind can comprehend
 Their number, or the wisdom infinite
 That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
 I saw when at his word the formless mass,
 This World's material mould, came to a heap:
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar 705
 Stood ruled, stood vast infinitude confined;
 Till at his second bidding Darkness fled,
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung.
 Swift to their several quarters hasted then
 The cumbrous elements—earth, flood, air, fire;

And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven
 Flew upward, spitted with various forms,
 That rolled orbicular, and turned to stars
 Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
 Each had his place appointed, each his course; 720
 The rest in circuit walls this Universe.

Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
 With light from hence, though but reflected, shines:
 That place is Earth, the seat of Man; that light
 His day, which else, as the other hemisphere,
 Night would invade; but there the neighbouring moon
 (So call that opposite fair star) her aid

Timely interposes, and, her monthly round
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heaven,
 With borrowed light her countenance triform 730
 Hence fills and empties, to enlighten the Earth,
 And in her pale dominion checks the night.

That spot to which I point is Paradise,
 Adam's abode; those lofty shades his bower.
 Thy way thou canst not miss; me mine requires."

Thus said, he turned; and Satan, bowing low,
 As to superior Spirits is wont in Heaven,
 Where honour due and reverence none neglects,
 Took leave, and toward the coast of Earth beneath,
 Down from the ecliptic, sped with hoped success, 740
 Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
 Nor stayed till on Niphates' top he lights.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions—fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil; journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and situation is described; overleaps the bounds; sits, in the shape of a cormorant, on the Tree of Life, as highest in the Garden, to look about him. The Garden described: Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse; thence gathers that the Tree of Knowledge was forbidden them to eat of under penalty of death, and thereon intends to found his temptation by seducing them to transgress; then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Meanwhile Uriel, descending on a subliminal, warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escaped the Deep, and passed at noon by his Sphere, in the shape of a good Angel, down to Paradise; discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel, drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the rounds of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping: there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but, hindered by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

FOR that warning voice, which he who saw
The Apocalypse heard cry in Heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be revenged on men,
"Woe to the inhabitants on Earth!" that now,
While time was, our first parents had been warned
The coming of their secret foe, and scaped,
Haply so scaped, his mortal snare! For now
Satan, now first inflamed with rage, came down,
The tempter ere the accuser of mankind, 10
To wreak on innocent frail Man his loss
Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell:
Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold
Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,
Begins his dire attempt; which, nigh the birth
Now rolling, boils in his tumultuous breast,
And like a devilish engine back recoils
Upon himself. Horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
The hell within him; for within him Hell 20
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One step, no more than from himself, can fly

By change of place. Now conscience wakes despair
That slumbered; wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, and what must be
Worse: of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue!
Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view
Lay pleasant, his grieved look he fixes sad;
Sometimes towards Heaven and the full-blazing sun,
Which now sat high in his meridian tower: 35
Then, much revolving, thus in sighs began:

"O thou that, with surpassing glory crowned,
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the god
Of this new World; at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere.
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down, 40
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless King!
Ah, wherefore? He deserved no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence; and with his good
Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
What could be less than to afford him praise,
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
How due? Yet all his good proved ill in me,
And wrought but malice. Lifted up so high,
I scorned subjection, and thought one step higher
Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
The debt immense of endless gratitude,
So burdensome, still paying, still to owe;
Forgetful what from him I still received;
And understood not that a grateful mind

By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
 Indebted and discharged—what burden then?
 Oh, had his powerful destiny ordained
 Me some inferior Angel, I had stood
 Then happy; no unbounded hope had raised 60
 Ambition. Yet why not? some other power
 As great might have aspired, and me, though mean
 Drawn to his part. But other powers as great
 Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within
 Or from without, to all temptations armed.
 Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand?
 Thou hadst. Whom hast thou then, or what, to accuse,
 But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all?
 Be then his love accursed, since, love or hate,
 To me alike it deals eternal woe. 70
 Nay, cursed be thou; since against his thy will
 Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
 Me miserable! which way shall I fly
 Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
 Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;
 And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.
 O, then, at last relent! Is there no place
 Left for repentance, none for pardon left? 80
 None left but by submission; and that word
 Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
 Among the Spirits beneath, whom I seduced
 With other promises and other vaunts
 Than to submit, boasting I could subdue
 The Omnipotent. Ay me! they little know
 How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
 Under what torments inwardly I groan.

While they adore me on the throne of Hell,
 With diadem and sceptre high advanced, 90
 The lower still I fall, only supreme
 In misery: such joy ambition finds!
 But say I could repent, and could obtain
 By act of grace my former state; how soon
 Would highth recal high thoughts, how soon unsay
 What feigned submission swore! Ease would recant
 Vows made in pain, as violent and void—
 For never can true reconciliation grow
 Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep—
 Which would but lead me to a worse relapse 100
 And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear
 Short intermission, bought with double smart.
 This knows my Punisher; therefore as far
 From granting he, as I from begging, peace.
 All hope excluded thus, behold, instead
 Of us, outcast, exiled, his new delight,
 Mankind created, and for him this World!
 So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
 Farewell remorse! All good to me is lost;
 Evil, be thou my good: by thee at least 110
 Divided empire with Heaven's King I hold,
 By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
 As Man ere long and this new World shall know."
 Thus while he spake, each passion dimmed his face,
 Thrice changed with pale—ire, envy, and despair;
 Which marred his borrowed visage, and betrayed
 Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld;
 For Heavenly minds from such distempers foul
 Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware
 Each perturbation smoothed with outward calm, 120
 Artificer of fraud; and was the first

That practised falsehood under saintly show,
 Deep malice to conceal, couched with revenge:
 Yet not enough had practised to deceive
 Uriel, once warned; whose eye pursued him down
 The way he went, and on the Assyrian mount
 Saw him disfigured, more than could befall
 Spirit of happy sort, his gestures fierce
 He marked and mad demeanour, then alone,
 As he supposed, all unobserved, unseen.

130

So on he fares, and to the border comes
 Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
 Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
 As with a rural mound, the champain head
 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
 Access denied; and overhead up-grew
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
 Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
 A sylvan scene, and, as the ranks ascend
 Shade above shade, a woody theatre
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
 The verdurous wall of Paradise up-sprung;
 Which to our general sire gave prospect large
 Into his nether empire neighbouring round.
 And higher than that wall a circling row
 Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit,
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
 Appeared, with gay enamelled colours mixed;
 On which the sun more glad impressed his beams
 Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,
 When God hath showered the earth: so lovely seemed
 That landskip. And of pure now purer air
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires

140

150

Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
 All sadness but despair; now gentle gales,
 Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past 160
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
 Of Araby the Blest: with such delay
 Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
 Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles:
 So entertained those odorous sweets the Fiend
 Who came their bane, though with them better pleased
 Than Asmodæus with the fishy fume
 That drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse
 Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent 170
 From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to the ascent of that steep savage hill
 Satan had journeyed on, pensive and slow;
 But further way found none; so thick entwined,
 As one continued brake, the undergrowth
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplexed
 All path of man or beast that passed that way.
 One gate there only was, and that looked east
 On the other side: which when the Arch-Felon saw,
 Due entrance he disdained, and in contempt 180
 At one slight bound high overleaped all bound
 Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
 Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
 Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve,
 In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,
 Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold;

Or as a thief, bent to uphoard the cash
 Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,
 Cross-barred and bolted fast, fear no assault, 190
 In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles:
 So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold:
 So since into his Church lewd hirelings climb.
 Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life,
 The middle tree and highest there that grew,
 Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life
 Thereby regained, but sat devising death
 To them who lived; nor on the virtue thought
 Of that life-giving plant, but only used
 For prospect what, well used, had been the pledge 200
 Of immortality. So little knows
 Any but God alone to value right
 The good before him, but perverts best things
 To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.

Beneath him, with new wonder, now he views,
 To all delight of human sense exposed,
 In narrow room Nature's whole wealth; yea, more—
 A Heaven on Earth; for blissful Paradise
 Of God the garden was, by him in the east
 Of Eden planted: Eden stretched her line 210
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers
 Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,
 Or where the sons of Eden long before
 Dwelt in Telassar. In this pleasant soil
 His far more pleasant garden God ordained.
 Out of the fertile ground he caused to grow
 All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
 And all amid them stood the Tree of Life,
 High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
 Of vegetable gold; and next to life, 220

Our death, the Tree of Knowledge, grew fast by.—
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
 Southward through Eden went a river large,
 Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill
 Passed underneath ingulfed; for God had thrown
 That mountain as his garden-mould, high raised
 Upon the rapid current, which, through veins
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up-drawn,
 Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
 Watered the garden; thence united fell 230
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
 Which from his darksome passage now appears;
 And now, divided into four main streams,
 Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm
 And country, whereof here need no account;
 But rather to tell how, if art could tell,
 How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
 Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
 With mazy error under pendent shades
 Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed 240
 Flowers worthy of Paradise; which not nice art
 In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
 Poured forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain,
 Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
 The open field, and where the unpierced shade
 Imbrowed the noontide bowers. Thus was this place,
 A happy rural seat of various view:
 Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm;
 Others, whose fruit, burnished with golden rind,
 Hung amiable—Hesperian fables true, 250
 If true, here only—and of delicious taste.
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
 Grazing the tender herb, were interposed,

Or palmy hillock; or the flowery lap
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store,
 Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose.
 Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
 Luxuriant; meanwhile murmuring waters fall 260
 Down the slope hills dispersed, or in a lake,
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crowned
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
 The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
 The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,
 Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
 Led on the eternal Spring. Not that fair field
 Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
 Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis 270
 Was gathered—which cost Ceres all that pain
 To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
 Of Daphne by Orontes, and the inspired
 Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
 Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian isle,
 Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
 Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,
 Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,
 Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
 Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard, 280
 Mount Amara, though this by some supposed
 True Paradise, under the Ethiop line
 By Nilus' head, enclosed with shining rock,
 A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
 From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend
 Saw undelighted all delight, all kind

Of living creatures, new to sight, and strange.

Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,
 God-like erect, with native honour clad,
 In naked majesty seemed lords of all,
 And worthy seemed; for in their looks divine
 The image of their glorious Maker shone,
 Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure—
 Severe, but in true filial freedom placed,
 Whence true authority in men; though both
 Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed:
 For contemplation he and valour formed,
 For softness she and sweet attractive grace;
 He for God only, she for God in him.

290

His fair large front and eye sublime declared
 Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung
 Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
 She, as a veil down to the slender waist,

300

Her unadorned golden tresses wore
 Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets waved,
 As the vine curls her tendrils—which implied
 Subjection, but required with gentle sway,
 And by her yielded, by him best received,
 Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
 And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.

310

Nor those mysterious parts were then concealed;
 Then was not guilty shame. Dishonest shame
 Of Nature's works, honour dishonourable,
 Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind
 With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
 And banished from man's life his happiest life,
 Simplicity and spotless innocence!
 So passed they naked on, nor shunned the sight

Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill ;
 Sp hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
 That ever since in love's embraces met :
 Adam the goodliest man of men since born
 His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.
 Under a tuft of shade that on a green
 Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain-side,
 They sat them down ; and after no more toil
 Of their sweet gardening labour than sufficed
 To recommend cool Zephyr, and make ease
 More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
 More grateful, to their supper-fruits they fell,
 Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
 Yielded them, sidelong as they sat recline
 On the soft downy bank damasked with flowers.
 The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind,
 Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream ;
 Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles
 Wanted, nor youthful dalliance, as beseems
 Fair couple linked in happy nuptial league,
 Alone as they. About them frisking played
 All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chase
 In wood or wilderness, forest or den.
 Sporting the lion ramped, and in his paw
 Dandled the kid ; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
 Gambolled before them ; the unwieldy elephant,
 To make them mirth, used all his might, and wreathed
 His lithe proboscis ; close the serpent sly,
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
 His braided train, and of his fatal guile
 Gave proof unheeded. Others on the grass
 Couched, and now filled with pasture gazing sat,
 Or bedward ruminating ; for the sun,

330

340

350

Declined, was hastening now with prone career
 To the Ocean Isles, and in the ascending scale
 Of Heaven the stars that usher evening rose :

When Satan, still in gaze as first he stood,
 Scarce thus at length failed speech recovered sad :

“O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
 Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
 Creatures of other mould, Earth-born perhaps, 360
 Not Spirits, yet to Heavenly Spirits bright
 Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
 In them divine resemblance, and such grace
 The hand that formed them on their shape hath poured.

Ah! gentle pair, ye little think how nigh
 Your change approaches, when all these delights
 Will vanish, and deliver ye to woe—
 More woe, the more your taste is now of joy:
 Happy, but for so happy ill secured 370

Long to continue, and this high seat, your Heaven,
 Ill fenced for Heaven to keep out such a foe
 As now is entered; yet no purposed foe
 To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
 Though I unpitied. League with you I seek,
 And mutual amity, so strait, so close,
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me,
 Henceforth: my dwelling, haply, may not please,
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense; yet such
 Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me, 380
 Which I as freely give. Hell shall unfold,
 To entertain you two, her widest gates,
 And send forth all her kings; there will be room,
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive
 Your numerous offspring; if no better place,

Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
 On you who wrong me not, for him who wronged.
 And, should I at your harmless innocence
 Melt, as I do, yet public reason just—
 Honour and empire with revenge enlarged 390
 By conquering this new World—compels me now
 To do what else, though damned, I should abhor.”

So spake the fiend, and with necessity,
 The tyrant's plea excused his devilish deeds.
 Then from his lofty stand on that high tree
 Down he alights among the sportful herd
 Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,
 Now other, as their shape served best his end
 Nearer to view his prey, and unespied
 To mark what of their state he more might learn 400
 By word or action marked. About them round
 A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
 Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spied
 In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
 Straight couches close; then, rising, changes oft
 His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
 Whence rushing he might surest seize them both,
 Griped in each paw: when Adam, first of men,
 To first of women, Eve, thus moving speech,
 Turned him all ear to hear new utterance flow: 410
 •“Sole partner and sole part of all these joys,
 Dearer thyself than all, needs must the Power
 That made us, and for us this ample World,
 Be infinitely good, and of his good
 As liberal and free as infinite;
 That raised us from the dust, and placed us here
 In all this happiness, who at his hand
 Have nothing merited, nor can perform

Aught whereof he hath need; he who requires
 From us no other service than to keep, 420
 This one, this easy charge—of all the trees
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
 So various, not to taste that only Tree
 Of Knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life;
 So near grows death to life, whate'er death is;
 Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'st
 God hath pronounced it death to taste that Tree—
 The only sign of our obedience left
 Among so many signs, of power and rule,
 Conferred upon us, and dominion given 430
 Over all other creatures that possess
 Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard
 One easy prohibition, who enjoy
 Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
 Unlimited of manifold delights;
 But let us ever praise him, and extol
 His bounty, following our delightful task,
 To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers;
 Which, were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet."

To whom thus Eve replied: "O thou for whom 440
 And from whom I was formed, flesh of thy flesh,
 And without whom am to no end, my guide
 And head! what thou hast said is just and right
 For we to him indeed all praises owe,
 And daily thanks; I chiefly, who enjoy
 So far the happier lot, enjoying thee.
 Pre-eminent by so much odds, while thou
 Like consort to thyself canst nowhere find.
 That day I oft remember, when from sleep
 I first awaked, and found myself reposed 450
 Under a shade on flowers, much wondering where

And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
 Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
 Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
 Into a liquid plain; then stood unmoved,
 Pure as the expanse of Heaven. I thither went
 With unexperienced thought, and laid me down
 On the green bank, to look into the clear
 Smooth lake, that to me seemed another sky.
 As I bent down to look, just opposite 460
 A shape within the watery gleam appeared,
 Bending to look on me: I started back,
 It started back; but pleased I soon returned,
 Pleased it returned as soon with answering looks
 Of sympathy and love. There I had fixed
 Mine eyes till now, and faded with vain desire,
 Had not a voice thus warned me: 'What thou seest,
 What there thou seest, fair creature, is thyself;
 With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
 And I will bring thee where no shadow stays 470
 Thy coming, and thy soft embraces—he
 Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy
 Inseparably thine; to him shalt bear
 Multitudes like thyself, and thence be called
 Mother of human race.' What could I do
 But follow straight, invisibly thus led?—
 Till I espied thee, fair indeed and tall,
 Under a platane; yet methought less fair,
 Less winning soft, less amiably mild,
 Than that smooth watery image. Back I turned; 480
 Thou, following, cried'st aloud, 'Return, fair Eve;
 Whom fliest thou? whom thou fliest, of him thou art,
 His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
 Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,

Substantial life, to have thee by my side
 Henceforth an individual solace dear:
 Part of my soul, I seek thee, and thee claim
 My other half.' With that thy gentle hand
 Seized mine: I yielded; and from that time see
 How beauty is excelled by manly grace 490
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair."

So spake our general mother, and with eyes
 Of conjugal attraction unproved,
 And meek surrender, half-embracing leaned
 On our first father; half her swelling breast
 'Naked met his, under the flowing gold
 Of her loose tresses hid. He, in delight
 Both of her beauty and submissive charms,
 Smiled with superior love, as Jupiter
 On Juno smiles when he impregns the clouds 500
 That shed May flowers, and pressed her matron lip
 With kisses pure. Aside the Devil turned
 For envy; yet with jealous leer malign
 Eyed them askance, and to himself thus plained:
 "Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two,
 Imparadised in one another's arms,
 The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
 Of bliss on bliss; while I to Hell am thrust,
 Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
 Among our other torments not the least, 510
 Still unfulfilled, with pain of longing pines.
 Yet let me not forget what I have gained
 From their own mouths. All is not theirs, it seems;
 One fatal tree there stands, of Knowledge called,
 Forbidden them to taste. Knowledge forbidden?
 Suspicious, reasonless! why should their Lord
 Envy them that? can it be sin to know?

Can it be death? and do they only stand
 By ignorance? is that their happy state,
 The proof of their obedience and their faith? 520
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build
 Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
 With more desire to know, and to reject
 Envious commands, invented with design
 To keep them low, whom knowledge might exalt
 Equal with gods. Aspiring to be such,
 They taste and die: what likelier can ensue?
 But first with narrow search I must walk round
 This garden, and no corner leave unspied;
 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet 530
 Some wandering Spirit of Heaven, by fountain-side,
 Or in thick shade retired, from him to draw
 What further would be learned. Live while ye may,
 Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
 Short pleasures; for long woes are to succeed."

So saying, his proud step he scornful turned,
 But with sly circumspection, and began
 Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale, his roam.
 Meanwhile in utmost longitude, where Heaven
 With Earth and Ocean meets, the setting sun 540
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise
 Levelled his evening rays. It was a rock
 Of alabaster, piled up to the clouds,
 Conspicuous, far, winding with one ascent
 Accessible from Earth, one entrance high;
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
 Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
 Chief of the angelic guards, awaiting night; 550

About him exercised heroic games
 The unarmed youth of Heaven; but nigh at hand
 Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
 Hung high, with diamond flaming and with gold.
 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
 On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star
 In autumn thwarts the night, when vapours fired
 Impress the air, and shows the mariner
 From what point of his compass to beware
 Impetuous winds. He thus began in haste:

560

"Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given
 Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place
 No evil thing approach or enter in.

This day at highth of noon came to my sphere
 A Spirit, zealous, as he seemed, to know
 More of the Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
 God's latest image. I described his way
 Bent all on speed, and marked his aery gait;
 But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
 Where he first lighted, soon discerned his looks
 Alien from Heaven, with passions foul obscured.
 Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
 Lost sight of him. One of the banished crew,
 I fear, hath ventured from the Deep, to raise
 New troubles; him thy care must be to find."

570

To whom the winged warrior thus returned:
 "Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,
 Amid the Sun's bright circle where thou sitt'st,
 See far and wide. In at this gate none pass
 The vigilance here placed, but such as come
 Well-known, from Heaven; and since meridian hour
 No creature thence. If Spirit of other sort,
 So minded, have o'erleaped these earthy bounds

580

On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude
 Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.
 But if within the Circuit of these walks,
 In whatsoever shape, he lurk of whom
 Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know."

So promised he; and Uriel to his charge
 Returned on that bright beam, whose point now raised 590
 Bore him slope downward to the sun, now fallen
 Beneath the Azores; whether the prime orb,
 Incredible how swift, had thither rolled . . .
 Diurnal, or this less volubil Earth,
 By shorter flight to the east, had left him there,
 Arraying with reflected purple and gold
 The clouds that on his western throne attend.

Now came still Evening; on, and Twilight gray
 Had in her sober livery all things clad;
 Silence accompanied; for beast and bird, 600
 They to their grassy couch, these to their nests,
 Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
 She all night long her amorous descant sung:
 Silence was pleased. Now glowed the firmament
 With living sapphires; Hesperus, that led
 The starry host, rode brightest, till the Moon,
 Rising in clouded majesty, at length
 Apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light,
 And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw;
 When Adam thus to Eve: "Fair consort, the hour 610
 Of night, and all things now retired to rest,
 Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
 Labour and rest, as day and night, to men
 Successive; and the timely dew of sleep,
 Now falling with soft slumberous weight, inclines
 Our eye-lids. Other creatures all day long

Rove idle, unemployed, and less need rest;
 Man hath his daily work of body or mind
 Appointed, which declares his dignity,
 And the regard of Heaven on all his ways; 620
 While other animals unactive range,
 And of their doings God takes no account.
 To-morrow, ere fresh morning streak the east
 With first approach of light, we must be risen,
 And at our pleasant labour, to reform
 Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
 That mock our scant manuring, and require
 More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth.
 Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums, 630
 That lie bestrewn, unsightly and unsmooth,
 Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
 Meanwhile, as Nature wills, night bids us rest."

To whom thus Eve, with perfect beauty adorned:
 "My author and disposer, what thou bidd'st
 Unargued I obey; so God ordains:
 God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
 Is woman's happiest knowledge, and her praise.
 With thee conversing I forget all time,
 All seasons and their change: all please alike. 640
 Sweet is the breath of Morn, her rising sweet,
 With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the Sun,
 When first on this delightful land he spreads
 His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
 Glistering with dew; fragrant the fertile Earth
 After soft showers; and sweet the coming-on
 Of grateful Evening mild; then silent Night,
 With this her solemn bird, and this fair Moon,
 And these the gems of Heaven, her starry train:

But neither breath of Morn, when she ascends
 With charm of earliest birds; nor rising Sun
 On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
 Glistening with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
 Nor grateful Evening mild; nor silent Night,
 With this her solemn bird; nor walk by moon,
 Or glittering star-light; without thee is sweet.
 But wherefore all night long shine these? for whom
 This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?"

To whom our general ancestor replied:

"Daughter of God and Man, accomplished Eve,
 Those have their course to finish round the Earth
 By morrow evening, and from land to land
 In order, though to nations yet unborn,
 Ministering light prepared; they set and rise;
 Lest total Darkness should by night regain
 Her old possession, and extinguish life
 In nature and all things; which these soft fires
 Not only enlighten, but with kindly heat
 Of various influence foment and warm,
 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
 Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
 On Earth, made hereby apter to receive
 Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
 Shine not in vain. Nor think, though men were none,
 That Heaven would want spectators, God want praise.
 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the Earth
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold,
 Both day and night. How often, from the steep
 Of echoing hill or thicket, have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,

Sole, or responsive each to other's note,
 Singing their great Creator! Oft in bands
 " While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
 With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
 In full harmonic number joined, their songs
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven."

Thus talking, hand in hand alone they passed
 On to their blissful bower. It was a place 690
 Chosen by the sovran Planter, when he framed
 All things to Man's delightful use. The roof
 Of thickest covert was inwoven shade,
 " Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side
 Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub,
 Fenced up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
 Iris all hues, roses, and jessamine,
 Reared high their flourished heads between, and wrought
 Mosaic; under-foot the violet, 700
 Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay
 Broidered the ground, more coloured than with stone
 Of costliest emblem. Other creature here,
 Beast, bird, insect, or worm, durst enter none;
 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower
 More sacred and sequestered, though but feigned,
 Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph
 Nor Faunus haunted. Here, in close recess,
 With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs
 Espoused Eve decked first her nuptial bed, 710
 And Heavenly choirs the hymenæan sung,
 " What day the genial Angel to our sire
 Brought her, in naked beauty more adorned,
 More lovely, than Pandora, whom the gods
 Endowed with all their gifts; and, O! too like

In sad event, when, to the unwiser son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she ensnared
Mankind with her fair looks, to be avenged
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Thus at their shady lodge arrived, both stood, 720
Both turned, and under open sky adored
The God that made both sky, air, Earth, and Heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
And starry pole: "Thou also madest the night,
Maker Omnipotent; and thou the day,
Which we, in our appointed work employed,
Have finished, happy in our mutual help
And mutual love, the crown of all our bliss
Ordained by thee; and this delicious place,
For us too large, where any abundance wants 730
Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
But thou hast promised from us two a race
To fill the Earth, who shall with us extol
Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,
And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep."

This said unanimous, and other rites
Observing none but adoration pure,
Which God likes best, into their inmost bower
Handed they went; and, eased the putting-off
These troublesome disguises which we wear, 740
Straight side by side were laid; nor turned, I ween,
Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites
Mysterious of connubial love refused:
Whatever hypocrites austere talk
Of purity, and place, and innocence,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase; who bids abstain

But our destroyer, foe to God and Man?
 Hail, wedded Love, mysterious law, true source 750
 Of human offspring, sole propriety
 In Paradise of all things common else!
 By thee adulterous lust was driven from men
 Among the bestial herds to range; by thee,
 Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
 Relations dear, and all the charities
 Of father, son, and brother, first were known.
 Far be it that I should write thee sin or blame,
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
 Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets, 760
 Whose bed is undefiled and chaste pronounced,
 Present or past, as saints and patriarchs used.
 Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
 Reigns here and revels: not in the bought smile
 Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendeared,
 Casual fruition; nor in court-amours,
 Mixed dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
 Or serenate, which the starved lover sings
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain. 770
 These, lulled by nightingales, embracing slept,
 And on their naked limbs the flowery roof
 Showered roses, which the morn repaired. Sleep on,
 Blest pair! and, O! yet happiest, if ye seek
 No happier state, and know to know no more!
 Now had night measured with her shadowy cone
 Half-way up-hill this vast sub lunar vault;
 And from their ivory port the Cherubim
 Forth issuing, at the accustomed hour, stood armed
 To their night-watches in warlike parade; 780
 When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake:

"Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
 With strictest watch; these other wheel the north:
 Our circuit meets full west." As flame they part,
 Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.
 From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he called
 That near him stood, and gave them thus in charge:

"Ithuriel and Zephon, with winged speed
 Search through this garden; leave unsearched no nook;
 But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge, 790
 Now laid perhaps asleep, secure of harm.
 This evening from the sun's decline arrived
 Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
 Hitherward bent (who could have thought?), escaped
 The bars of Hell, on errand bad, no doubt:
 Such, where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring."

So saying, on he led his radiant files,
 Dazzling the moon; these to the bower direct
 In search of whom they sought. Him there they found
 Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, 800
 Assaying by his devilish art to reach
 The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
 Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams;
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
 The animal spirits, that from pure blood arise
 Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
 At least distempered, discontented thoughts,
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
 Blown up with high conceits engendering pride.
 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear 810
 Touched lightly; for no falsehood can endure
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns
 Of force to its own likeness: up he starts,
 Discovered and surprised. As when a spark

Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid
 Fit for the tun, some magazine to store
 Against a rumoured war, the smutt'g grain,
 With sudden blaze diffused, inflames the air:
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.
 Back stept those two fair Angels, half amaz'd 820
 So sudden to behold the grisly King;
 Yet thus, unmoved with fear, accost him soon:

"Which of those rebel Spirits adjudg'd to Hell
 Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison? and, transformed,
 Why sat'st thou like an enemy in wait,
 Here watching at the head of these that sleep?"

"Know ye not, then," said Satan, filled with scorn,
 "Know ye not me? Ye knew me once no mate
 For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar!
 Not to know me argues yourselves unknown, 830
 The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,
 Why ask ye, and superfluous begin
 Your message, like to end as much in vain?"

To whom thus Zephon, answering scorn with scorn:
 "Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
 Or undiminished brightness, to be known
 As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure.
 That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
 Departed from thee; and thou resemblest now
 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul. 840
 But come; for thou, be sure, shalt give account
 To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
 This place inviolable, and these from harm."

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
 Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
 Invincible. Abashed the Devil stood,
 And felt how awful goodness is, and saw

Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw, and pined
 His loss; but chiefly to find here observed
 His lustre visibly impaired; yet seemed 850
 Undaunted. "If I must contend," said he,
 "Best with the best—the sender, not the sent;
 Or all at once: more glory will be won,
 Or less be lost." "Thy fear," said Zephon bold,
 "Will save us ~~trial~~ what the least can do
 Single against thee, wicked and thence weak."

The Fiend replied not, overcome with rage;
 But, like a proud steed reined, went haughty on,
 Champing his iron curb: to strive or fly
 He held it vain; awe from above had quelled 860
 His heart, not else dismayed. Now drew they nigh
 The western point, where those half-rounding guards
 Just met, and closing stood in squadron joined,
 Awaiting next command. To whom their chief,
 Gabriel, from the front thus called aloud:

"O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
 Hasting this way, and now by glimpse discern
 Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade;
 And with them comes a third, of regal port,
 But faded splendour wan, who by his gait 870
 And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell;
 Not likely to part hence without contest.
 Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours."

He scarce had ended, when those two approached,
 And brief related whom they brought, where found,
 How busied, in what form and posture couched.
 To whom, with stern regard, thus Gabriel spake:
 "Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescribed
 To thy transgressions, and disturbed the charge
 Of others, who approve not to transgress 880

By thy example, but have power and right
 To question thy bold entrance on this place?
 Employed, it seems, to violate sleep, and those
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss."

To whom thus Satan, with contemptuous brow:
 "Gabriel, thou hadst in Heaven the esteem of wise,
 And such I held thee; but this question asked
 Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?
 Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,
 Though thither doomed? Thou wouldst thyself, no doubt, 890
 And boldly venture to whatever place
 Farthest from pain, where thou mightst hope to change
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompense
 Dole with delight; which in this place I sought:
 To thee no reason, who know'st truly good,
 But evil hast not tried. And wilt object
 His will who bound us? let him surer bar
 His iron gates, if he intends our stay
 In that dark durance. Thus much what was asked:
 The rest is true, they found me where they say; 900
 But that implies not violence or harm."

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel moved,
 Disdainfully half smiling, thus replied:
 "O loss of one in Heaven to judge of wise,
 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew,
 And now returns him from his prison scaped,
 Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
 Or not who ask what boldness brought him hither
 Unlicensed from his bounds in Hell prescribed!
 So wise he judges it to fly from pain 910
 However, and to scape his punishment!
 So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,
 Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight."

Sevenfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain.
Can equal anger infinite provoked.

But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
Came not all Hell broke loose? is pain to them
Less pain, less to be fled? or thou than they
Less hardy to endure? Courageous chief, 920
The first in flight from pain, hadst thou alleged
To thy deserted host this cause of flight,
Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive."

To which the Fiend thus answered, frowning stern:

"Not that I less endure, or shrink from pain,
Insulting Angel! well thou know'st I stood
Thy fiercest, when in battle to thy aid
The blasting vollied thunder made all speed,
And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.
But still thy words at random, as before, 930

Argue thy inexperience what behoves,
From hard assays and ill successes past,
A faithful leader; not to hazard all
Through ways of danger by himself untried.

I therefore, I alone, first undertook
To wing the desolate Abyss, and spy
This new-created World, whereof in Hell
Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted powers
To settle here on Earth, or in mid air; 940
Though for possession put to try once more
What thou and thy gay legions dare against;
Whose easier business were to serve their Lord
High up in Heaven, with songs to hymn his throne,
And practised distances to cringe, not fight."

To whom the warrior Angel soon replied:
 "To say and straight ansay, pretending first
 Wise to fly pain, professing next the spy,
 Argues no leader, but a liar traced,
 Satan; and couldst thou 'faithful' add? O name, 950
 O sacred name of faithfulness profaned!
 Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
 Army of fiends, fit body to fit head,
 Was this your discipline and faith engaged,
 Your military obedience, to dissolve
 Allegiance to the acknowledged Power Supreme?
 And thou, sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
 Patron of liberty, who more than thou
 Once fawned, and cringed, and servilely adored
 Heaven's awful Monarch? wherefore, but in hope 960
 To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?
 But mark what I areed thee now: Avaunt!
 Fly thither whence thou fledst. If from this hour
 Within these hallowed limits thou appear,
 Back to the infernal pit I drag thee chained,
 And seal thee so as henceforth not to scorn
 The facile gates of Hell too slightly barred."
 So threatened he; but Satan to no threats
 Gave heed, but waxing more in rage replied:
 "Then, when I am thy captive, talk of chains, 970
 Proud liminary Cherub! but ere then
 Far heavier load thyself expect to feel
 From my prevailing arm; though Heaven's King
 Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
 Used to the yoke, drawest his triumphant wheels
 In progress through the road of Heaven star-paved."
 While thus he spake, the angelic squadron bright

Turned fiery red, sharpening in moonèd horns
 Their phalanx, and began to hem him round.
 With ported spears, as thick as, when a field 980
 Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
 Her bearded grove of ears which way the wind
 Sways them; the careful ploughman doubting stands
 Lest on the threshing-floor his hopeful sheaves
 Prove chaff. On the other side, Satan, alarmed,
 Collecting all his might, dilated stood,
 Like Tencriff or Atlas, unremoved:
 His stature reached the sky, and on his crest
 Sat Horror plumed; nor wanted in his grasp
 What seemed both spear and shield. Now dreadful deeds 990
 Might have ensued; not only Paradise,
 In this commotion, but the starry cope
 Of Heaven perhaps, or all the elements
 At least, had gone to wrack, disturbed and torn
 With violence of this conflict, had not soon
 The Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,
 Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales, yet seen
 Betwixt Astræa and the Scorpion sign,
 Wherein all things created first he weighed,
 The pendulous round Earth with balanced air 1000
 In counterpoise—now ponders all events,
 Battles and realms. In these he put two weights,
 The sequel each of parting and of fight:
 The latter quick up flew, and kicked the beam;
 • Which Gabriel spying thus bespake the Fiend:
 “Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know’st mine;
 Neither our own, but given; what folly then
 To boast what arms can do! since thine no more
 Than Heaven permits, nor mine, though doubled now

To trample thee as mire. For proof look up, 1010
And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
Where thou art weighed, and shown how light, how weak
If thou resist." The Fiend looked up, and knew
His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night.

NOTES.

Abbreviations:—

M. = Milton, or Milton's poetry, as distinguished from his prose.

G. = Glossary.

P. R. = *Paradise Regained*.

S. A. = *Samson Agonistes*.

Other books of *Paradise Lost* are indicated by Roman numerals; thus in the note on *first-born* in the first line "VII. 244" means book VII. line 244.

The edition of Milton's prose-works to which reference is made under the abbreviation "P. W." is that published in "Bohn's Standard Library."

Note:—The action of bks. I. II. and III. IV. is sketched in the *Introduction*, pp. liv.—lvii., and should be studied by any reader who is not familiar with them.

BOOK III.

The exordium (1—55), apart from its beauty of thought and diction, has a twofold interest,—personal, in that it is touched with the pathos of Milton's resignation under his affliction of blindness; artistic, in that it is a fitting prelude to a fresh development in the action of the poem. Hitherto the scene has been the gloomy regions of Hell or Chaos: now our imagination is lifted to the Empyrean and the new-created Universe, still in its primal splendour. The transition from darkness to light is aptly marked by this celebrated introduction.

Lines 1, 2 and 21—26 are (I believe) the first lines quoted from *Paradise Lost* in any work by a writer contemporary with Milton. They are cited contemptuously in *The Transproser Rehears'd, or the Fifth Act of Mr Bayes's Play*, Oxford, 1673, by Richard Leigh of Queen's College. (See *Notes and Queries*, IV. I. 456, 457.)

1, 2. Either (l. 1) Light was subsequent to the Deity, as being the first thing created by Him; or (ll. 2, 3) Light existed from Eternity equally with Him. See VII. 243—252 (with notes).

first-born; cf. VII. 244, "Light...first of things," and *S. A.* 83, "first-created beam."

2, 3. i.e. or may I, without blame, call ("express") thee co-eternal with the Deity?

3. *since*; he gives his reasons (from Scripture) for terming Light "co-eternal." Cf. 1 *John* i. 5, "God is light," and 1 *Tim.* vi. 16, "dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto."

7. *hearest thou rather*, dost thou prefer to be called? *Hear* = 'to be called,' is a classicism—cf. Gk. κλέειν, Lat. *audire*, as in Horace's *seu fane libentius audis* (*Sat.* II. vi. 20). So M. in his Lat. poems, e.g. in *Epitaphium Damonis*, 209, *sive equior audis | Diodotus*; also in his prose-works, e.g. in *Arcopagitica*, "what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad [*ἡ ἀκὼς κλέει, male audit*], than household gluttony?" (*P. W.* II. 73).

8. *fountain*, source.

9—12. *Gen.* i. 3—5. See the account of the Creation in VII. 243—252. *wert*, see G.

10. *invest*, enwrap; Lat. *investire*.

12. *won from the...infinite*, formed out of the realm of Chaos.

13—15. *wing...flight*. His favourite metaphor, 'wing' being a natural emblem of that which uplifts the poet's genius. Cf. VII. 3, 4:

"above the Olympian hill I soar,

Above the *flight* of Pegasean wing."

14. *the Stygian pool*, i.e. Hell. *long detained*; he means that the action of books I. and II. (up to l. 628) was laid in Hell.

16. *utter darkness*, of Hell, as always in M. (cf. I. 72, v. 614): *middle darkness*, of Chaos. M. means that in II. 629—1055 he described the 'flight' of Satan from Hell upward through Chaos towards Heaven. *utter*, see G.

17. i.e. with loftier strains than those of the Orphic *Hymn to Night* (one of the poems of unknown authorship attributed to the mythic Orpheus). M. says "other," implying 'greater,' because he regarded himself as literally an inspired teacher—perhaps in the same sense that the Hebrew prophets were inspired. See I. 17, note.

18. *I sung*, i.e. in II. 890—1040. *sung*; see 372, note.

19. *the Heavenly Muse*, the power whom he invokes at the beginning of the poem (I. 6): not one of the Nine Muses (see 26,

note) to whom a Greek or Roman poet would have appealed, but the Muse of sacred song, the Heavenly power which inspired the prophets of Israel. In VII. 1—4 he calls her 'Urania,' 'the heavenly' (Gk. *οὐρανία*). See I. 6—16, note, and *Comus*, 515, "sage poets, taught by the Heavenly Muse."

20, 21. An echo of *Æneid* VI. 1267—129, where the Sibyl tells Æneas that the descent to Avernus is easy: "But to return...In this the task and mighty labour lies." *rare*, seldom achieved.

25, 26. *drop serene...dim suffusion*. See *Appendix*, pp. 120, 121. *quenched*, the metaphor of putting out a light; cf. *S. A.* 95.

orbs; used of 'the eye-balls'; cf. *oculorum orbes* in *Æneid* XII. 670, and Gk. *κύκλοι*, e.g. in Sophocles, *Antigone* 974 (*δμμάτων κύκλοι*).

26—29. His love of literature, in particular classical poetry, has not failed. He is still devoted to those ancient poets inspired by the Muses (note the plural here and contrast l. 19) who haunted the "hill" of Helicon, with its "clear springs" Aganippe and Hippocrene (where was the famous "grove" of the Muses), and Parnassus with the famed Castalian fountain.

29. So Vergil (*Georgic* II. 476) describes himself as serving the Muses, *ingenti percussus amore*.

sacred; in the general sense 'divine'; not 'religious, Scriptural.'

29—32. But his love of the classics is exceeded by his love of Scripture. "Sion hill" (I. 10), and "Siloa's brook" (I. 11) and the brook Kidron: these scenes and the literature associated with them—the Psalms of David and the works of the singers of Israel—are dearest to him. See the closely similar lines in bk. I. (6—13). For Milton's preference of sacred Hebrew poetry to classical, cf. *P. R.* IV. 346, 347, where he makes our Saviour say that the works of Greek poets

"Will far be found unworthy to compare

With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling."

And in *Church Government* he pronounces "those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets...over all the kinds of lyric poesy...incomparable," *P. W.* II. 479.

32. *nightly*. Milton was best inspired at night. Cf. VII. 28, 29 and IX. 21—24, where he speaks of his Muse or

"celestial patroness, who deigns

Her *nightly* visitation unimplored,

And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires

Easy my unpremeditated verse."

Newton in his *Life* of M. says that the poet's widow, "being asked...

who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly." (Cf. Shakespeare's famous 86th *Sonnet*.) And Johnson, on the authority of Richardson's *Life* (1734), relates that M. "would sometimes lie awake whole nights...and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came" (a similar story is told of Pope).

32. *nor sometimes forget*, and constantly call to mind (an instance of the classical figure of speech called *metosis*).

33. *those other two*, i.e. Thamyris and Maenides, poets as well as 'prophets'—rather than Tiresias and Phineus, 'prophets' alone. *equalled...in fate, &c. blind*."

34. i.e. and would that I might be equal; a parenthesis.

so; meant perhaps = Lat. *sic* introducing an imperative clause, i.e. as a formula of wishing; cf. Horace's *sic te diva potens* etc., *Od.* I. 3. 1—4.

35. *Thamyris*; according to Homer *Iliad* II. 595—600, a Thracian bard, who, for boasting that he could surpass the Muses in song, was deprived of his sight and of the power of singing. Plato mentions him together with Orpheus twice (*Laws* 8. 829 E, *Republic* 10. 620 A).

Maenides, i.e. Homer; called *Maenides*, either as a son of *Maon*, or as a native of *Maonia*, the ancient name of Lydia. Hence he is also called *Maonius senex*, and his poems the *Maonia charta* or *Maonium carmen*. The tradition of his blindness is mentioned as early as the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo.

36. *Tiresias*, the blind sooth-sayer of Thebes, famous through the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles and many other works down to Tennyson's *Tiresias*. In *De Idea Platonica* 25, 26 M. refers to him as "the Theban seer whose blindness proved his best illumination."

Phineus, another blind prophet, king of Salmydessus in Thrace; best known in connection with the Harpies (*Æneid* III. 211—13), from whose torments two of the Argonauts freed him. In his second *Letter* to Leonard Philaras (Sept. 28, 1654) M. compares himself with Phineus, quoting the account of the prophet's blindness in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.

37. *move*, inspire.

38. *numbers*, verse; see G. *the wakeful bird*, the nightingale, Milton's favourite bird, if we may judge, by his many references to it. See IV. 602, 603, VII. 435, 436, *Il Penseroso*, 56—64.

39. *darkling*, in the dark; see G.

44. *human face divine*. The word-order, a noun between two

qualifying words, is not infrequent in M.; cf. 396, 439, 692. We find it in Greek; cf. Euripides, *Phænissæ*, 234, *ὑπόβολον εἰς ἱππὸν*.

45. *dark*, darkness; an adj. used = noun is common in M.; cf. 380.

47—50. *cut off...presented*; both qualify me in 46. *expunged*, qualifies *works*. and *wisdom...shut out*; an absolute construction, added rather loosely as a sort of climax to the whole sentence.

47. *for the book*, i.e. instead of the book.

49. *to me*, as far as I am concerned.

51—55. See *Appendix*, p. 121 ("Milton's Blindness").

54. *purge*, clear away, remove.

55. His favourite claim (in some degree, traditional with epic poets) to peculiar inspiration and novelty of theme. See I. 16, note.

57. *Empyrean*, Heaven, the abode of the Deity and his angels.

60. *the Sanctities*, the divine beings; abstract for concrete.

61. *his sight*, the sight of him.

61, 62. An allusion to the *Visio Beatifica* or power of "seeing God" (*Matthew* v. 8). Hooker, speaking of the three types of "angelical actions," says that the first is "most delectable love, arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory and beauty of God, invisible save only unto spirits that are pure," *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I. iv. 1. Cf. M. in *Christian Doctrine*, XXXIII., "Perfect glorification [of the righteous] consists in eternal life and perfect happiness, arising chiefly from the *divine vision*."

62, 63. "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,...sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high," *Hebrews*. i. 3. See 138—142.

65. *yet*, as yet.

69—72. The last lines of bk. II. described Satan reaching in his ascent from Hell the upper regions of Chaos and making his way towards the Empyrean, close to which he perceived the globe of this World hung in Chaos by that golden chain (II. 1051) which is fastened to the Empyrean. Now he has arrived at the "battlements" (I. 742) that separate the Empyrean from Chaos, and is flying along them—of course, on the outside. Below him lies the globe of the World; he prepares to swoop down into its surface; by l. 420 he has done so.

70. *the gulf*, Chaos. *there*, in Chaos.

71. *coasting*, going along the side of, skirting; see G.

this side, i.e. the side nearest to the Empyrean. The realm of Night (personified) lies in Chaos, between Hell and the Empyrean. Into the upper regions of this realm penetrates the light reflected from the

"crystal wattlements" (l. 742) of the Æmpeyrean, and forms a kind of half-light, "a *glimmering* dawn" (ll. 1037)—what M. here calls a "dun" atmosphere, i.e. brownish, dusky. See again 427—429.

72. *sublime*=Lat. *sublimis* in its literal sense 'aloft' (i.e. Satan was). Cf. ll. 528, "on the plain, or in the air sublime."

73. The alliteration may be meant to indicate Satan's exhaustion.

75. Viewed from outside, this Universe appeared to be a solid, spherical mass of land, without "sky" (the sky which we see being supposed to be *inside* the "first convex" or outer crust).

76. *uncertain*; it being uncertain. This is an absolute construction modelled on the elliptical use of Lat. *incertum*, e.g. in Livy xxxi. 41. 2, *clausurunt portas incertum vi an voluntate*.

in ocean. So in ll. 419 Satan speaks of the World as "the happy *isle*." Chaos, in which it hung, was a mixture of land and sea (ll. 939).

82, 83. *the chains*. Cf. 2 *Pet.* ii. 4, "if God spared not the angels .. but...delivered them into chains of darkness." There is the same allusion in l. 48, ll. 169, 183, vi. 186.

83. *Abyss*, Chaos (see *Appendix*, p. 189); Gk. *ἄβυσσος*, bottomless.

84. *wide interrupt*, with its wide division, i.e. between Hell and Heaven. *interrupt*; a past participle=Lat. *interruptus*, 'broken off or between'; see G.

90. *assay*, attempt; see G.

93. *glozing*, deceitful; see G.

94. *the sole command*, i.e. to abstain from the forbidden tree.

100. Cf. Satan's own words iv. 63—67. That the rebellious angels, like Adam and Eve, had free will, to obey or disobey, is emphasised in v. 525—543 and elsewhere. Cf. *Christian Doctrine* III., "in assigning the gift of free will, God suffered both men and angels to stand or fall at their own uncontrolled choice."

101. *failed*. Bentley thought that M. dictated *fell*; cf. 102.

106, 107. Cf. *Christian Doctrine* IV., "the acceptableness of duties done under a law of necessity is...annihilated altogether." "

108. "When God gave Adam [him] reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing," *Areopagitica* (*P. W.* II. 74). Reason is speculative: will, practical—in fact, the power of putting reason into action. It is by reason that we choose the right course, by will that we take it. Such seems Milton's meaning.

111. *as to right belonged*, i.e. as was right and just.

117. *if I*, grant that I; *if* is concessive.

129. *the first sort*, the fallen angels. *suggestion*, temptation; a

common Elizabethan sense; cf. *Macbeth*, i. 3. 134, "why do I yield to that suggestion?"

135. *ambrosial*, delicious; see G.

136. Cf. i *Tim.* v. 21, "the *elect* angels," which M. explains in *Christian Doctrine* ix. to mean "beloved, or excellent." See 360.

138—142. See 62, note; cf. 384—89. *compare*, comparison.

143. *which*, viz. his *compassion*, *love* and *grace* (=graciousness).

147. The 'hymns,' 'songs' are 'innumerable,' not their 'sound.'

150. *should Man be lost?* 'would it be right that Man should be lost?' The original editions mark that it is a question.

153, 154. "That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked," *Gen.* xviii. 25.

156. The name *Satan* means 'adversary'; cf. "foe" in 179.

159. *return*, i.e. to Hell.

162, 163. Beelzebub hoped that this might happen (ii. 368, 370).

166. *blasphemed*, impiously, spoken ill of.

168. "My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," *Mat.* iii. 17.

169. "The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father," *John* i. 18. Cf. 239, 279.

170. *my word*; referring to the use in the New Testament of 'Word,' Gk λόγος (Vulgate *verbum*) as a title of the Son; see 383, note. *effectual might*, i.e. power by whom the will of the Father was effected, e.g. in the creation of the World (*John* i. 1—3; cf. *P. L.* vii.).

174. *of*, by reason of.

176. *lapsed*, lost through man's offence. *forfeit*=forfeited; see G. The tone and wording of the line are legal; cf. 219.

177. *exorbitant*, excessive. See G.

179. *mortal*, deadly.

183, 184. The doctrine of predestination here alluded to is discussed by M. at some length in *Christian Doctrine* iv.

185, 186. i.e. be warned of theft state and (warned=advised) to appear. *betimes*, in good time, early; see G.

189. *what may*, as far as may. Perhaps M. refers to *Ezek.* xxxvi. 26.

195. *umpire*, judge; see G.

196. *well used*, if well used.

197. *safe arrive*, i.e. attain salvation ultimately.

199. *taste*, enjoy; it governs *sufferance*...day of grace

206. The Serpent tempts Eve with the promise of 'godhead,' ix.

208. Cf. *Gen.* iii. 5, "in the day ye eat thereof...ye shall be as gods." *affecting*, seeking to win; Lat. *affectare*, to aim at.

208. *sacred and devote*, utterly doomed. The words have practically the same meaning: *s. cred*=Lat. *sacer*, 'dedicated to a deity for destruction'; *devote*=Lat. *devotus*, 'set apart as by a vow (*votum*)' with the same object. For 'devote' & 'devoted' see *interrupt* in G.

211. *as willing*, i.e. not less willing than able.

212. *the rigid satisfaction*, the unalterable penalty.

215. *mortal crime*, i.e. deadly. The use of *mortal* in its two senses (cf. 214) is an intentional quibble. See IV. 181, note.

just the unjust. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust," 1 *Pet.* iii. 18.

216. *charity*, love; see G.

217. All the angels of Heaven shrink from the task of saving man, just as all the fallen angels—their leader excepted—shrank from undertaking the expedition to ruin man (II. 417—426). The Saviour himself must achieve the one work, as the Tempter himself the other. (Newton.)

218. "There was silence in heaven" *Rev.* viii. 1.

219. The metaphor of the passage being legal, probably *patron*=Lat. *patronus* in its legal sense, 'defender,' i.e. before a court of law.

intercessor. "And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor," *Isaiah* lix. 16.

220. *much less that*, i.e. much less *any one* that.

221. *forfeiture*, penalty; see *forfeit* in G.

225. "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead," *Col.* ii. 9.

226. *dearest*, most heartfelt, earnest.

227. *passed*, pledged.

231. With M. a favourite form of verse, expressing emphasis; cf. II. 185, "Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved." Similar is the repetition in the Greek dramatists of adjectives compounded with the negative prefix *d-* (=English *un-*); cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1071, *ἀνείλετον, ἀνέπλετον, ἀνέσποιον νέκυιν*; Euripides, *Hecuba* 669.

unprevented, unanticipated (i.e. by prayer); grace comes before man has prayed for her. *prevent*=Lat. *prævenire*, to come before.

233. *once*, when once. *dead in sins*; from *Colossians* ii. 13.

236, 237. *me...me*. For this emphatic repetition see VI. 812—18.

243. *given me to possess*. A *lit.* finism; cf. *Æneid* I. 65, 66, *tibi divum pater...mulcere dedit fructus*. So I. 736, XI. 339.

244—265. Texts of Scripture referred to are: *John* v. 26; *Psalms* xvi. 10, 11, lxviii. 18; *Acts* ii. 27; 1 *Cor.* xv. 26, 55; *Col.* ii. 15; *Rev.* xx. 14. In the speeches which he assigns to the Almighty or the Son M. employs largely the words of Scripture.

246. *all*; qualifying *I* in the previous sentence: 'I am *this* due—at least, all of me that can die.'

255. *maugre*, in spite of; O. F. *maugre*=modern F. *malgré*.
show, i.e. to the Almighty.

258. *ruin*, hurl down. M. uses *ruin*=Lat. *ruina* in its literal sense 'fall.' Thus in l. 46 he speaks of the 'ruin' of the angels from heaven, and in S. A. 1515 of the 'ruin' of Dagon's temple, i.e. 'fall.'

266. Scan *aspect* as usually in M. and Shakespeare; cf. IV. 541.

270. *attends*, awaits; cf. Fr. *attendre*.

271. *admiration*, wonder; so M. uses *admire*=Lat. *admirari*, to wonder, in II. 677, "what this might be [he] *admired*."

275. *under wrath*; referring to the future, when man shall have incurred the Almighty's wrath by the disobedience of Adam and Eve.

276. *complacence*, pleasure, i.e. in whom pleasure is taken.

277, 278. An allusion to the proverbial phrase; cf. *Julius Caesar* III. i. 189, "Though *last*, *not least*, in love"; and *Lear* I. i. 85, 86, "our joy, Although *the last*, *not least*."

278. *that*. 'Man is *so dear* that I spare.'

281, 282. i.e. join to thine the nature of those whom thou only etc. *whom thou*; the antecedent of *whom* is contained in *their*.

284. *when time shall be*, when the destined time comes.

285. *room*, place, stead.

286, 287. See I Cor. xi. 3, xv. 22 ("as in Adam all die").

290, 291. Referring to the doctrine of imputed righteousness which M. deals with in the chapter 'Of Justification,' *Christian Doctrine* XXII. He writes, "As therefore our sins are imputed to Christ, so the merits or righteousness of Christ are imputed to us through faith"; then he illustrates the doctrine from Scripture. Cf. *P. L.* XII. 407, 408.

299. *giving to*, yielding; submitting to; somewhat similar is 2 *Henry* IV. I. i. 164, "if you give o'er to stormy passion," i.e. yield to.

300. *so dearly*, at such a cost.

306. *Philippians* ii. 6.

311. i.e. far more than *by being* great or high.

312—341. Among the texts embodied in these lines are: *Phil.* i. 9, ii. 10; *Mat.* xxiv. 30, 31, xxviii. 18; I Cor. xv. 51; I *Thess.* iv. 16.

317. *anointed*; alluding to the meaning of 'Messiah'=anointed.

318, 319. Cf. Horace's *sume superbam | quasitam meritis* (*Od.* III.

30. 14, 15) *merits*, deserts.

319. Cf. *Ephes.* iv. 15 "the head, even Christ." So in v. 606.

320. *Thrones, Princedoms* etc.; all titles of the three Hierarchies of

Heavenly beings. *Princedom*s = 'Principalities' (vi. 447), Gk. ἀρχαί. See *Appendix*, p. 122.

326. i.e. from the four quarters of the compass. Cf. *Ezekiel* xxxvii. 9, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain." See *The Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 168.

327. cited, summoned.

328. doom, judgment. Cf. *Romeo*, III. 2. 67, "Then, dreadful trumpet, sound the general doom!"; and *Lucrece* 924, "From the creation to the general doom."

329. a peal, i.e. of the last trumpet: "for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised," 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. Cf. *Mt. Ode*, 155, 156.

330. Saints, righteous men; a favourite word in this sense with M. and with the Puritans; cf. 468.

331. arraigned, summoned to receive their sentence; see G.

333—35. Based on 2 *Peter* iii. 12, 13, as to which Dr Salmon writes—"Many parts of the Canonical Scriptures speak of fire as the future punishment of the wicked; but I do not remember any other place where it is said that the whole world itself shall be burned" (*Introduction to New Test.*, p. 521). The doctrine is conspicuous in works like the *Revelation of Peter* which reveal the influence of the Second Epistle. M. recurs to it XI. 900, 901, XII. 547—51.

335. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth," *Rev.* xxi. 1.

340. need, be necessary; cf. IV. 235.

341. "That God may be all in all," 1 *Cor.* xv. 28.

gods; M. applies this title (= 'angelic or divine being') alike to the "elect" and to the fallen angels (I. 116).

344—47. all the multitude...uttering; an absolute construction.

348. hosannas; see G.

350. towards either throne; i.e. towards the Father and the Son.

350—52. See the vision of "the four and twenty elders," *Rev.* iv.

353. amaranth, the unfading flower; hence called "immortal."

"There are no fields of amaranth on this side of the grave," says Landor in "Death and Immortality." See G.

356. Perhaps the idea of the flower being transferred was suggested by the Rabbinical doctrine that after the Fall of Man "the Garden [of Eden], with its contents, was removed to Heaven" (Keightley).

357, 358. Alluding to the "pure river of water of life" (xxii. 1), with "living fountains of waters" (vii. 17), mentioned in *Rev.*; "on either side of the river was there the tree of life" (xxii. 2)—cf. 354.

359. Elysian, such as might grow in *Elysium* = in Vergil and other

classical writers the region in which dwell the souls of the good. Cf. Shelley, *Prometheus*, II. 2, "Elysian flowers, Nepenthe, Moly, Amaranth." Milton's 'Heaven' is, in the main, the 'Paradise' described by the early apocalyptic writings of Christianity; and in this 'Paradise' flowers are a conspicuous feature. See *Appendix*, p. 109.

amber, clear, transparent as amber; one of those literary epithets (cf. *P. R.* III. 288, Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, 69) due to the classics; cf. Vergil's *purior electro...aminis*—*Georgic* III. 522.

362—64. 'Now the pavement was bright ("smiled") with roses in garlands which the angels threw down thick.'

363. "Before the throne a sea of glass, like unto crystal," *Rev.* iv. 6.

364. *impurpled*, made brilliant. Cf. *Lycidas*, 41, "And purple all the ground with vernal flowers." See *G.*

smiled; cf. the use of Lat. *ridere* = 'to be bright, gay with,' e.g. as a field with flowers. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* xv. 205, 206).

367. *preamble*, prelude, introduction.

368. *symphony*, harmonious strains; Gk. *συμφωνία*, unison.

371. *part*; used in its musical sense, as in 'part-song.'

372—74. The epithets comprise the five chief attributes which M. in his *Christian Doctrine* II. assigns to the Deity.

372. *sung*. In Elizabethan E. this incorrect form for the past tense is much used. M. has *sang* (cf. 383) only three times, Shakespeare only once, for the rhyme (*Sonnet* 73); each prefers *sung*.

375—377. Cf. 3—8. The construction is—'Invisible, except when thou shadest...and thy skirts appear.'

380. *dark with excessive bright*. Scientifically a fact; as a figure of speech, an *oxymoron* (see IV. 314, note). Similar is v. 599. *bright*, brightness; for adj. = noun cf. 12, 45.

381, 382. Cf. *Isaiah* vi. 2, "above it stood the Seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face." M. chooses the Seraphim (see *G.*) as being the most lustrous, the "brightest" (cf. 667), of the Heavenly Orders; yet even they cannot bear the extreme radiance. See Gray's lines on M., *Appendix*, p. 121.

• • 383. Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, chapter v., "certain it is...that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of the *logos* or *Word* [see 170, note], and was the first of the whole creation." That chapter ("Of the Son of God") reveals Milton's Arianism very clearly.

384. *Divine Similitude*, image of the Almighty; cf. 63, 64.

387. *else*, otherwise, in any other way.

389. *transfused*, poured out on; cf. vi. 704.

391—99. Closely similar to the account of the battle in Heaven in which Satan and his host are overthrown by Messiah (vi. 831—891).

392. *Dominations*; the title (Gk *κυριότητες*) of one of the Orders of Heavenly beings. See *Appendix*, p. 122.

395. *frame*, fabric; a favourite word with M.; cf. II. 924, v. 154.

397. *powers*, forces, host.

398. *thee only*, since Messiah drove out the foe unaided—"sole victor" vi. 880.

402. *incline*; an infinitive dependent on *didst*.

406. *he*; supply *than* or *but*; the main verb is *offered* (409).

413, 414. *my song...my harp*. Probably the speaker is intended to be the Chorus of angels, regarded as one individual (in accordance with the constant practice of the Greek dramatists—cf. the choruses of *S. A.*); the reference to *harp* (cf. 365) makes this probable. But it is possible that M. himself is speaking.

416. *starry sphere*, the starlit sky of this World; so in v. 620.

418. *opacous*, gloomy, because hung in Chaos; see G.

419, 420. *first convex*, the *Primum Mobile* or tenth sphere, formed of solid matter (cf. "firm," 418), and serving as the outer shell of the World, and so dividing from Chaos the nine other spheres ("luminous inferior orbs") which are inside. See *Appendix*, pp. 113, 114.

422, 423. The Universe was so vast that its spherical shape was only perceptible from a distance; standing on its surface, Satan might have supposed it to be a plain. Cf. II. 1047, 1048.

427—29. See 71, note.

430. *at large*, freely, without restraint; cf. I. 790.

431—39. Upon the geography see *Appendix*, p. 123. The elaborate form of the simile is very characteristic. Like Vergil, M. often works a simile out in all its bearings. Here the comparison is very apposite: the vulture=Satan; the flocks=mankind, Satan's prey; the barren plains=the "continent" where he alighted.

432. *snowy*. The name *Imaus* is cognate with the Sanskrit *himavat*, 'snowy,' and survives in *Himalaya*, 'the region of cold.'

434. *yearling*, newly born; see G.

435, 436. *Ganges or Hydaspes*, both have their 'springs' (i.e. sources) in the Himalayas. *Hydaspes*, the classical name for the modern Jhelum. The form of the line is a favourite with M.; cf. 36, and I. 469, "Of Abbana and Pharphar, Acid streams."

438, 439. Newton quotes from Heylin's *Cosmography* (the best known English geographical work of the 17th century), "the country

[China] is so plain [flat] and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails"; and I find in Jonson's *News from the New World*: "Herald. Yes, but the coaches...go only with wind. *Chronicler*. Pretty! like China waggons." The following is from Staunton's *Embassy to China* (1797), cited by Todd: "The custom mentioned by some old travellers, of the Chinese applying sails to carriages by land is still, in some degree, retained. [He then quotes Milton's lines and continues:] Those *cany* waggons are small carts, or double barrows, of bamboo, with one large wheel between them. When there is no wind to favour the progress of such a cart, it is drawn by a man, who is regularly harnessed to it, while another keeps it steady from behind, besides assisting in pushing it forward. The sail, when the wind is favourable, saves the labour of the former of these two men. It consists only of a mat fixed between two poles rising from the opposite sides of the cart. This simple contrivance can only be of use when the cart is intended to run before the wind" (II. p. 76).

438. The plural *Chineses* was in regular use during the 17th cent.; cf. the title of a work published in 1606, "An exact Discourse of the East Indians as well as *Chyneses* and *Jauans*" (see *New English Dict.*).

440. *so*; Milton's constant manner of completing a simile. Cf. IV. 166, 192, 819. *sea*; perhaps suggested by "sails" (439).

442-97. The germ of the whole idea lies in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, canto 34, of which M. himself translates several lines in *Of Reformation* (*P. W.* II. 383). The passage represents Astolfo, the English knight, as being taken up into the moon and led by St John

Into a goodly valley, where he sees

A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd,

Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd."

M. says that there is (as people thought) a Paradise of Folly (496), the rubbish-heap of the Universe: only it is situated, not in the moon (459), but on this outside of the globe where Satan is walking. And from the interior of the World it is approached thus (481-86): vain things and souls (448) mount upward from earth past the ten spheres, reach the opening in the globe's surface, where the ladder leads up to Heaven (503 *et seq.*), and emergence to the outside—when lo! crosswinds suddenly sweep them clean away from the ladder, and, whirled into space, they descend into their appointed Paradise, on the backside (494) of the globe.

The almost burlesque satire of the passage seems scarce in keeping with the dignity of an epic. Probably Milton's main purpose was to

introduce the attack on the Church of Rome, carefully placed at the end as a climax (476—497). Hardly less bitter, though less direct, are his assaults on the Church of England; see *IV.* 193, note.

444. *store*, plenty. "Store is no sore" (an old proverb).

449. *fond*, foolish; a common Elizabethan use. Cf. *King Lear*, *IV.* 7. 60, "foolish fond old man." So *fondly* = "foolishly" in 470.

451—54. Mainly a sarcasm against priestcraft.

456. *abortive*, born before their time. *unkindly*, unnaturally.

459. *some*, viz. Ariosto; see 442, note. Cf. Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 753, 754, "Some thought it [Belinda's tress] mounted to the Lunar sphere, Since all things lost on Earth are treasur'd there." Similarly Jonson (*Views from the New World*) describes the moon as inhabited by "All the fantastical creatures you can think of"—from Rosicrucians to moon-calves.

461. *translated saints*, e.g. Enoch (*Gen.* v. 24), Elijah (2 *Kings* ii.). *middle*; explained in the next line.

463—465. He means "the mighty men...men of renown," who were born of the "sons of God" and "the daughters of men" (*Gen.* vi. 4). In *xi.* 621—5 M. identifies the "sons of God" with the pious descendants of Seth; in v. 447 and *P. R.* II. 179 he regards them as angels. *Gen.* vi. 4 has been interpreted in both ways.

466, 467. See the fuller reference to the building of Babel, *xii.* 38—62. *Sennaar* = Shinar (*Gen.* xi. 2). M. uses the Vulgate form of the name; the Septuagint has Σεννααρ. See 536, note.

469—471. *Empedocles*, a Greek philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily; 'flourished' about B.C. 444. "He threw himself into the flames of Mount Ætna, that by his sudden disappearance he might be *believed to be a god*; but...the volcano threw up one of his sandals and thus revealed the manner of his death" (*Classical Dictionary*).

Ætna; this adjectival use of names (to avoid *'s* followed by the termination *'s*) is common in Shak.; cf. "Philipp^{'s} fields," *Julius Caesar*, i. 5. 19.

471—73. *Cleombrotos*, a philosopher of Ambracia in Epirus; according to the legend, he drowned himself after reading Plato's description of Elysium (see 359, note) in the *Phædo*, in order that he might exchange this life for a better.

473. *too long*, i.e. to tell.

474. *embryos*, beings in an immature, undeveloped state. *cremities* = *hermits*; from Gk. ἐρημίτης, a dweller in a desert (Gk. ἐρήμια).

friar = Fr. frère (cf. *frere* in Chaucer), the distinguishing title of the mendicant orders, of which, till the xvth century, there were four; cf.

Chaucer, *Prologue* 210, "alle the ordres fourē." M. mentions three, the fourth being the Augustinian hermits or Austin Friars.

* 475. *white*, the *Carmelites*, so called after Mt Carmel, where the crusader Berthold established the order, about 1156. They wear a white cloak.

black, the *Dominicans*, an order of preaching friars (*Fratres Prædicantes*) founded in 1215 by St Dominic, a Spaniard; cf. l. 479. A long black mantle or *cappa* forms part of their dress.

grey, the *Franciscans*, founded in 1209 by St Francis of Assisi; cf. l. 480. They wear a grey gown of coarse cloth—what M. in his *In Quintum Novembris* 81, calls *cineracea pestis*, i.e. ash-coloured.

From their respective garbs the three orders were known in England as the White Friars, the Black Friars, and the Grey Friars.

476, 477. An allusion to the pilgrimages in the Middle Ages, to the tomb of Christ in the garden (*John* xix. 41) of the place Golgotha, where Christ was crucified. Note the antithesis in l. 477.

478—480. Alluding to the belief that even laymen, if they died in friars' robes [= *weeds*; see G.] would pass into Heaven (Masson).

481—3. To understand these lines one must know something about the Ptolemaic cosmology; see *Appendix*, pp. 112—115.

A close parallel is Donne's *Progress of the Soul*, in which he describes how the soul ascends through the air, passes the planets (he names them) one after another, and so reaches Heaven.

481. *the fixed*, i.e. stars, set in the eighth sphere = *Cælum Stellatum*. Note that 'stars,' not 'sphere' (as some say), is the word understood: the stars in this sphere are fixed, but the sphere itself revolves—nay, is marked by the rapidity of its revolution (cf. v. 176, "orb that flies").

482, 483. i.e. that sphere which with its balance determines the amount of the swaying motion ("trepidation") so much talked about. See *Appendix*, p. 114, and the notes on VIII. 130—140.

* 482. *that*, the well-known, Lat. *ille*. Scan *crystalline*.

483. *talked, talked of*; this contemptuous word rather implies that M. did not believe in the theory of the "trepidation."

* *that first moved*, the Primum Mobile, or tenth sphere; cf. *The Death of a Fair Infant*, 39, "that high first-moving sphere."

484, 485. Intended as a sneer (cf. the depreciatory word 'wicket') at the Roman Catholic doctrine of 'the power of the keys'; cf. *Mat.* xvi. 19, "And I will give unto thee [St Peter] the keys of the kingdom of heaven." M. discusses the subject in *Christian Doctrine*, xxix. Other references to it in his works are *Lycidas* 109—111; *In Quintum Novembris* 101; *Areopagitica*, P. W. II. 60.

488. *transverse*, in a cross-direction, aside; see G.
489. *devious*, out of their course; the epithet is transferred (by *hypallage*) from *them* to *air* (cf. 147, note).
- 485—89. For a parallel to this idea see the extract from the English *Faust-book* (1592) in *Appendix*, p. III.
- 490—93. All terms specially associated with the Roman Catholic Church. *reliques*, relics, like the remains of the bodies or clothes of Saints and Martyrs; Lat. *reliquia*. See the *Prayer-Book*, "Articles of Religion," XXII. *beads*, of the rosary. *indulgences*, such as the Roman Church grants. *dispenses*, dispensations. *pardons*, absolutions. *bulls*, papal edicts; see G.
493. *the sport*; alluding to *Æneid* VI. 74, 75, where Æneas begs of the Sibyl: "But oh! commit not thy prophetic mind To flitting leaves, the sport of every wind" (*ludibria ventis*)—Dryden.
495. *limbo*, region; see G.
496. *Paradise of Fools*; a proverbial phrase; cf. *Roméo*, II. 4. 176.
497. *now*, i.e. at the time of Satan's coming thither.
502. *degrees*, steps; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 25, 26, "unto the ladder turns his back...scorning the base degrees."
507. *orient*, lustrous; see G.
- 508, 509. i.e. not to be reproduced by any model or drawing.
510. *Gen.* xxviii. 11—17. Probably Milton's notion of a stair connecting the Universe with Heaven was suggested by Jacob's dream.
516. *mysteriously*, i.e. had a mystic, allegorical meaning.
- 517, 518. i.e. *was* drawn up and *became* viewless (=unseen).
- 518—522. He means the Crystalline sphere—"the wide Crystalline ocean" (VII. 271), "the glassy sea" (VII. 619), which the angels behold—through the opening (cf. 526—529) in the surface of the Universe—as they stand at Heaven's gate and look down the stairs (VII. 617—619). M. has already said that Souls ascending Heavenward from Earth must pass this sphere (482).
521. *wafted*, carried: as was Lazarus (*Luke* xvi. 22).
522. *rapt*, caught up: as was Elijah (2 *Kings* ii. 11). *rapt*, see G.
524. *aggravate*, make worse, heavier to bear; Lat. *gravis*, heavy.
- 526—539. This is the only opening in the surface of the outer shell (*Primum Mobile*) of the Universe.
527. i.e. immediately above the side of the Garden of Eden.
530. *though that*, i.e. the second passage mentioned in 531. The Old Testament often speaks of angels visiting the Earth, and here we are told that there were two aerial paths for their descent, one leading

straight down from Heaven on to Mount Sion, the other extending over the whole Promised Land.

533. *behests*, commissions from God.

534. *his eye*, viz. passed. *choice regard*, careful watch, look.

535, 536. i.e. "from Dan even to Beer-sheba" = from N. to S. of Canaan. *Paneas*, the later Greek name of Dan, a little S. of Mount Hermon, at the foot of which the Jordan has its chief source ('fount').

536. The form *Beersaba*, instead of 'Beersheba,' illustrates Milton's avoidance of the sound *sh* in proper names; see *Sabeian* in the *Glossary*, and cf. 'Basan' (l. 398), 'Hesebon' (l. 408), 'Silo' (S. A. 1674). He often uses the Septuagint or Vulgate form; cf. 467, note. The Septuagint has *Βηρσαβέ*, the Vulgate *Bersabee*.

539. *darkness*, i.e. the surrounding darkness of Chaos; cf. 421.

540. *on the lower stair*, at the bottom of the stairs.

541. *scaled*, ascended like a ladder (Lat. *scala*).

546. *obtains*, attains to, reaches (*obtinēt*).

547. *discovers*, unfolds; F. *découvrir*. *unaware*, unexpectedly.

548. *prospect*, view.

549. Was M. recalling to memory one of the Italian cities visited on that tour in 1638—9 to which his thoughts reverted so gladly? Perhaps Florence on which he had looked down from Fiesolè (sec l. 289, 290, notes); or, yet more likely, Rome. Cf. the famous description in *P. R.* of the "imperial city" with its "*glittering spires*" (iv. 54).

551. To complete the sense, understand some words like "he (the scout) is seized with wonder." (Keightley.)

552. *though after*, i.e. although he was familiar with the splendours of Heaven. For the Latinism (*post cælum visum*), cf. *Comus* 48, "After the mariners transformed," and l. 573, "since created Man" (*post hominem creatum*).

555. Standing at the topmost point of the globe, just at the opening, Satan can survey the whole interior of the Universe—from E. to W. (557—560), and from N. to S. (560, 561).

555—57. He is far above the night that we know on Earth simply because he is far above the sun. See 571, note.

558—60. *the fleecy star*, Aries, the Ram—exactly opposite in the Zodiac (in the east) to Libra, the Balance (in the west). M. says that the constellation Andromeda is borne by Aries because it lies above Aries in the sky, though rather to the west. *the horizon*, i.e. of this Earth.

562. *first region*, i.e. the uppermost of the three "regions" (a technical term) into which mediæval physicists supposed the air to be

divided; it was distinguished by the pure dry heat of its atmosphere (cf. 564). This threefold division—the key to several passages in M.—is explained in the *Appendix* to bks. I. II., pp. 150—153.

563. *and winds*. In his downward flight Satan has passed through two spheres—the *Primum Mobile* and Crystalline. Now he is, in the *Cælum Stellatum*, moving up and down (cf. “oblique way”) among the host of fixed stars (cf. 481). Till 573 we must picture him in this sphere.

564. *marble*, lucid, bright as marble; see G.

565, 566. i.e. that at a distance seemed to be stars.

567. *happy isles* = those Islands of the Blessed, to which, according to an early Greek belief, favoured mortals passed without dying. Later these *Fortunata Insulae* came to be identified with islands off the west coast of Africa (probably the Canaries). One of Ben Jonson's *Masques* is called “The Fortunate Isles.”

568. i.e. the gardens (cf. *Comus* 981—6) in which grew the golden apples (iv. 250) guarded by the daughters of Hesperus and the dragon Ladon. The *Hesperidum Insulae* in which the gardens were commonly placed by writers have been identified with the Cape de Verde islands (so perhaps by M. himself in VIII. 631, 632).

571. *above*, more than—not ‘over,’ connoting place, since the sphere of the sun is *below* the sphere of the fixed stars; in fact, being the middle one of the spheres of the seven planets (cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus*, I. 3. 89—91), it is separated from the *Cælum Stellatum* by three spheres, viz. those of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars (in that order).

574—576. Newton explains: *up or down*, north or south...*by centre or eccentric*, towards the centre, or from the centre...*by longitude*, east or west (cf. IV. 539). Other editors note (1) that M. leaves it undetermined whether the sun (cf. VIII. 122, 123) or the Earth is the centre of the Universe, i.e. whether the Copernican or Ptolemaic astronomy is right: (2) that he makes *longitude* = east to west, and *breadth* (560) i.e. *latitude* = north to south: a use which we just reverse.

577. *aloof*, apart from; see G.

578. Cf. *Il. Pen.* 141, “Hide me from Day's garish eye” (the sun).

580, 581. *numbers*, measures = Lat. *numeri* used of the measures of a dance. See VIII. 123—125.

compute Days etc.; cf. *Genesis* i. 14—16. Plato speaks of the planets as created by the Deity *ἐκ διορισμῶν καὶ φυλακῆν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου*, “for defining and preserving the numbers of time,” *Timæus* 38 C.

585. *unseen*; referring to *penetration*.

586. *virtue*, efficacy. *the deep*, the lowest part of the Universe.

588—90. Probably he is thinking of Galileo, who in 1609 constructed a telescope ("optic tube") by which the spots on the solar disc were perceptible. See I. 288, note.

592. *metal*; in the First and Second Eds. *medal*.

593. *informed*, pervaded by, filled with.

594. *glowing iron*; inverted order; 'like iron glowing with fire.'

596, 597. *chrysolite...ruby*. In *Exodus* xxviii. 20 the Heb. *tarshish*, rendered 'beryl' in A.V., is a *chrysolite* according to the Septuagint and Vulgate; and in verse 17 the margin of the A.V. has '*ruby*' instead of '*sardius*.'

to, to the full number of the twelve. *Exodus* xxviii. 17—20.

600. *that stone* = "the philosopher's stone." • • •

601. *philosophers*, alchemists (cf. 603, note), who tried to compose a stone which would transmute other metals into gold. Cf. Reginald Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, XIV. 11, speaking of alchemists, "Now you must understand that the end and drift of all their worke is, to attaine unto the composition of the *philosopher's stone*, called *Alixer*"; i.e. *elixir* (see G.).

602, 603. *bind...Hermes*, solidify and fix *mercury* or quicksilver. Cf. Ben Jonson's *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists*; the scene is "a Laboratory or Alchemist's-workhouse," Mercury appears, and Vulcan as the chief alchemist cries out—"Stay, see! our *Mercury* is coming forth...call forth our *philosophers* [cf. 601]. He will be gone, he will evaporate....Precious golden Mercury, be fixt: be not so *volatile*!" And later (speaking to his assistants): "Begin your charm, sound music, circle him in, and take him: if he will not obey, *bind* him."

Hermes; the Greek name of Mercury (Lat. *Mercurius*).

603—605. *old Proteus*; the prophetic old man of the sea (ἄλιος γέρον). To escape prophesying, he would transform himself into "various shapes" (cf. *Protean* = 'shifting, changeable'); but when he was firmly seized, as by Menelaus (*Odyssey* IV. 454, 455) and Aristæus (*Georgic* IV. 437—440), he would return to his "native form" and foretell the future. Milton uses this legend to illustrate the processes of alchemists: the matter on which they experiment is, like Proteus, transformed by being drained through *alembics* (= 'limbecs') or stills, till at last they restore it to its original ("native") form.

603. *call up*. According to legend, no one had this power over Proteus: he only issued from the sea of his own accord, at midday, to sleep on the shore. But, to emphasise the "powerful art" of the alchemists, M. suggests that they might even summon up Proteus at their will.

606. *here*, in the sun: if the sun's heat can produce such marvellous effects on the far-off Earth (611), how much more on its own orb. These lines seem scarcely consistent with VIII. 94—97.

607, 608. *breathe...elixir*, i.e. exhale a force similar to that life-prolonging force or principle called *elixir vite*, which the alchemists believed to be contained in a tincture of gold called *aurum potabile* = the "potable [drinkable] gold" of 608, *elixir*; see G.

608. *virtuous*, full of efficacy, powerful; see G.

610. i.e. though mixed with moisture which weakens his power.

611. *here*, on Earth. *in the dark*, underground. *precious things*, precious stones, metals. "It was the belief of those times that these were produced by the influence of the sun" (Keightley).

613. *gaze*, gaze at; often transitive; cf. V. 272, VIII. 258.

616—619. "Where Satan was,—i.e. on the Sun itself,—all was sunshine without visible shadow, just as, on Earth, at the equator at noon, the Sun's beams striking vertically downwards, in the self-same manner that they were now shooting directly upwards, cause opaque objects to have no slanting shadow round them" (Masson).

617. This position of the sun is technically called his *culmination*.

620. *nowhere*, i.e. else. *visual ray* = power of seeing; light which makes sight possible is put for sight itself. Cf. "visual beam," S. A. 163.

623. "I saw an angel standing in the sun." Rev. xix. 17. Young (*Night-Thoughts*) says, "A Christian dwells, like Uriel, in the sun."

625—628. Upon the symbolical aspect of this description and of that in 640—642 see *Appendix*, p. 123.

625. *tiar*, tiara—a crown, diadem; see G.

627. *illustrious*, bright (Lat. *illustris*). *sledge*, feathered; see G.

628. *charge*, office, duty; cf. 688, "resigns her charge."

631. *who*, some one who; cf. IV. 793.

634. *cast*, plans; perhaps the metaphor of *cast* = 'calculate.'

637. i.e. not very young, yet youthful-looking (638); or 'not one of the great Cherubim'—*prime* being taken in the sense 'chief.'

such as, such that; cf. *Othello*, I. I. 72, 73.

643. *habit*, dress, Lat. *habitus*. *succinct*, girt up, i.e. so as not to impede his movements; see G.

644. *decent*, graceful, becoming; see G.

647. *was known*, was recognised by Satan as the archangel Uriel.

648, 649. In the chapter (IX.) of the *Christian Doctrine* on angels, M. says, "Seven of these, in particular, are described [i.e. in Scripture] as traversing the earth in the execution of their ministry." They are, he

adds, "the seven angels which stood before God," *Rev.* viii. 2, "the seven Spirits which are before his throne," *Rev.* i. 4. Of these Uriel was one. He is mentioned four times in *2 Esdras*, and in three places (iv. 1, v. 20, x. 28) is called "Uriel the angel," but in the fourth (iv. 36) "Uriel the archangel." That he was "regent of the sun" (690) and dispenser of heat was a tradition, due probably to his name which signifies 'the fire of God.' Thus Heywood says that the four quarters of the world are assigned to the government of four angelic beings, and "The South, whence Auster comes, rules Uriel" (*Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, 1625 ed., p. 214). Cf. too Henry More, "The fiery scorching shafts which Uriel From Southern quarter darted with strong hand" (*Song of the Soul*, Cambridge ed., 1647, p. 53).

650-653. "Those seven: they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth," *Zephariah* iv. 10.

The special duty of these "seven Spirits" is defined by their title *arch-angel* = 'chief messenger' (Gk ἀρχι, a prefix, 'chief' + ἄγγελος, 'a messenger'). See *Appendix*, p. 123.

654. The sentence introduces Satan's reason for asking information of Uriel: he does so because Uriel, as chief "interpreter" of God, is likely to know about the new Universe and its inhabitants. But strictly the sense is never completed; it takes a fresh turn in 662.

655. Only these seven archangels may come so near to the Deity.

656. *authentic*, authoritative, because received at first-hand, i.e. from God himself. Gk ἀθέρως, 'one who does a thing himself.'

• 657, 658. Uriel brings the command of God to the inferior angels, who await it at a distance. *attend*; cf. 270.

659. *here*, in the sun.

664. i.e. in whom he delights and whom he favours most.

667. *Seraph*; strictly not applicable to Uriel (an archangel).

670. i.e. but hath his choice to dwell in all these orbs.

674. *graces*, favours, acts of grace.

681. *unperceived*, not discovered, undetected.

686-689. A fine and just allegory that a wise man may be deceived through the very greatness of his nature: for he is filled with high thoughts, not mean suspicions: which makes him trust his fellow-men, and credit them with being as honest and true as himself.

689. *which*, referring to the whole idea of the previous sentence.

690. So ix. 60, "Uriel, regent of the sun."

699. M. always accents *empyréal* (but *empyréan*).

704. *had in remembrance*; a Scriptural phrase; *Acts* x. 31.

708. *I saw*. Uriel must have been among the angels who accompanied Messiah when he went forth to create the World, vii. 197—215. This rapid sketch (708—721) prepares us for the full narrative of the creation in book vii. The lines reveal the influence (1) of Plato's account of the creation (*Timæus*) and (2) of Ovid's description of Chaos (*Metamorphoses* l. 5 *et seq.*). For Milton's knowledge of the *Timæus* cf. v. 579, note.

709. *material mould*, i.e. the substance whereof the World was made, being matter in its primal state: "at first *confused* and *formless*, afterwards adorned and digested into *order* by the hand of God" (M. in *Christian Doctrine* vii.).

712. *this...bidding*, viz. "Let there be light," *Gen.* i. 3.

713. *order from disorder*. *Eis τάξη αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας*, Plato, *Timæus* 30 A; *id ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit*, Cicero, *de Universo* (a translation of the *Timæus*).

715. i.e. the four 'elements' or constituent parts of which all things were thought to consist. See II. 898, note.

cumbrous; the epithet points the difference between them and the "ethereal" fifth element. Cf. *Batman* (1582), "Heaven [see 716, note] is the fifth Element, severed from the nether Elements, and distinguished by propriety of kinde: for it is not heavie, for then it might come downward" (p. 120).

flood, water.

716. M. refers to Aristotle's conception of a fifth element called 'ether' (cf. "ethereal" in 716), and he introduces the two main points of Aristotle's theory: (1) that "the ether fills the celestial spaces, and of it the spheres and stars are made" (cf. 718, 721); (2) that "the nature of the ether...adapts it especially for circular motion" (cf. "orbicular," 718), whereas the motion of the four elements is vertical, up and down. Ueberweg, from whose summary of Aristotle's views the foregoing quotations are made, says, "Ether is the first element in rank [i.e. according to Aristotle]; but if we enumerate, beginning with the elements directly known by the senses, it is the fifth, the subsequently so-called *πέμπτον στοιχείον*, *quinta essentia*" (*History of Philosophy*, pp. 165, 167).

It is disputed whether this 'fifth essence' ought to be called an 'element,' since it lacks the principle of contraries that belongs to the four elements: note therefore that M. does not apply the title 'element' to it.

Practically he identifies the 'fifth essence' or 'ether' with Light

(cf. VII. 243, 244), though 'ether' (Gk αἰθήρ, from αἰθέω, to glow) rather implies very bright atmosphere.

716. *Heaven*, sky; cf. a definition of 'ether' cited by G. H. Lewes from an Alexandrian treatise: "Ether is the *substance of the heavens* and the stars; so named because of its *eternal* circular motion" (an allusion to the false derivation of αἰθήρ from ἀεῖ, always + θεῖν, to run).

717. *spirited*, animated.

718. *orbicular*, with circular motion.

721. i.e. what remained of the 'ether' after the stars were made.

730. Cf. *Hamlet*, III. 2. 167, "moons with *borrowed* sheen"; and Drummond, *Flowers of Sion*, "The moon moves lowest, silver *sun* of night, Dispersing through the world her *borrowed light*." See VII. 375—78.

triform, referring to the three phases of the moon—crescent, full and waning. But there is also an allusion to Lat. *triformis* as an epithet of the moon indicating her threefold capacity as Luna, Diana and Hecate; cf. Horace's *diva triformis*, *Od.* III. 22. 4. So in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* the moon is addressed as "thou *three-formed* star...to whose *triple* name...we incline"; cf. *Midsommer-Night's Dream*, v. 391, "the *triple* Hecate's team."

731. *hence*, i.e. from the sun.

737. Cf. v. 360, "As to superior nature bowing low."

739. *coast*, region: as often in M.

740. *the ecliptic*, i.e. "as then understood, the Sun's orbit round the Earth" (Masson).

741, 742. An instance of Milton's power of making the sound be an echo to the sense. The rapid movement of the latter half of 741 conveys an impression of Satan's swift descent, while the slow, measured, rhythm of 742 suggests rest.

742. *Niphates*, 'the snowy range'; a mountain of Armenia, part of the Taurus range—on the borders of Assyria (IV. 126).

BOOK IV.

1. *O for*, i.e. would that that voice had sounded.

he who, St John. See *Rev.* xii. 12, "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath."

2. *Apocalypse*, revelation, literally 'uncovering'; Gk ἀπό, off+καλύπτειν, to cover.

heard cry, i.e. the words "Woe to the inhabitants," l. 5.

3. *then when*; M. uses this emphatic phrase often; cf. 838, 979. *the dragon*, Satan; cf. "The old Dragon," *Nativity Ode*, 168. The title is from Rev. xii. 7 and means 'Serpent' (Gk δράκων).

second rout; the first was his defeat and expulsion from Heaven.

6, 7. *warned*. i.e. of, as to. *coming*; indirect object after *warned*.

7. *foe*; see III. 179, note. *scaped*, see G.

8. *mortal*, deadly—the Late Lat. use of *mortalis*.

10. i.e. the tempter before he was the accuser. Cf. Rev. xii. 10, "the accuser of our brethren is cast down." The word *devil* is a corruption of Greek διάβολος, 'slanderer,' from διαβάλλειν, 'to slander.'

11, 12. These lines give the main motive of Satan's action against man; see *Appendix*, p. 119.

wreak his loss, avenge himself for his loss. *wreak*; see G.

12, 13. Contrast III. 740. The nearer Satan approaches to the scene of his task the more he realises its enormity and peril, and the less his confidence becomes.

19—23. For this conception of Hell as not a place but a mental and moral state of torture see I. 254, 255. Sir Thomas Browne writes, *Religio Medici*, LI., "every devil is an hell unto himself; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*." In Marlowe's *Faustus*, when the Doctor asks "Where is the place that men call hell?", Mephistophiles replies, "Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed In one self place; for where we [evil spirits] are is hell" (v. 119, 120).

23. Cf. I. 253, "A mind *not* to be changed by place or time" = Horace's line, *calum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt* (*Epistles* I. 11. 27).

24, 25. i.e. rouses the memory of what he was and *the thought* (understood from *memory*) of what he is and will be. So Samson Agonistes is beset by thoughts of "Times past, what once I was and what am now," *S. A.* 22.

25. *what must be worse*, i.e. how he must become worse. One of the most powerful features of *Paradise Lost* is the presentment of the gradual debasement and decline of Satan as the evil he works against man masters himself—"back recoils."

27, 28. *Eden...pleasant*, 'Eden' means 'pleasure.' Cf. 132.

31. *much revolving*, pondering many things (*multa volvens*).

thus began. The speech that follows throws much light on Milton's conception of Satan; see *Appendix*, pp. 115—120.

32—41. The lines written as early as 1642; see *Introduction*, p. xl.

35. One of the most familiar quotations from Milton. Cf. Pope, *Epistle* III. 282, "Ye little stars! hide your diminished rays."

37—39. Before his fall Satan was lustrous as the sun itself: now his splendour is faded and wan (835—840, 870).

40. *pride and ambition*; see *Appendix*, pp. 115—117.

43. In bk v. when he is inciting the angels to rebel Satan pretends that he and they are "self-begot, self-raised" (860), i.e. not created by the Almighty and so not justly his servants.

45. *upbraided*, reproached; cf. *James* i. 5.

50. *sdsined*, disdained; see G.

51. *quit*, pay off, settle; see G.

55—57. On the one hand, true gratitude is in itself payment: on the other, a grateful man, though he may formally have discharged his debt, still retains a sense of indebtedness to his benefactor. Bentley compared Cicero's sentiment, *Gratiam autem et qui retulerit habere, et qui habeat retulisse* (*de Officiis*, II. 20), i.e. he who has repaid an obligation is still conscious of it, and he who is conscious of an obligation has repaid it.

63. *other powers*; e.g. the archangels, Raphael and Michael.

66. "Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell," III. 102.

72. *rues*, regrets, repents of. Cf. Germ. *reue*, repentance.

73. *me miserabile* Latin *me miserum*!

75. See 19—23, note. *which way*, whichever way.

78. *to which*, compared to which.

79. Satan addresses himself; or possibly the Almighty.

79, 80. Cf. *Hebrews* xii. 17, "he found no place of repentance."

82, 83. M. makes Satan a type of pride and egotism.

84. *other...other*; an emphatic turn of phrase that M. uses elsewhere; cf. *Lycidas* 174, "other groves and other streams along."

87. *abide*, suffer for; see G.

98. *advanced*, raised to eminence; it qualifies *me* in 89. Cf. 359.

94. *act of grace*, doing penance, asking pardon (cf. F. *grace*).

95. *highth*, high place, eminence. See G.

97. *violent*, extorted by compulsion. *void*, of no effect, null.

110. Just as evil is to be his good, so later (IX. 122, 123) he confesses, "all good to me becomes Bad" (i.e. evil).

112. *by thee*; repeated for emphasis. *more than half*, since he rules Hell already and hopes to rule the World, thus leaving the Almighty only Heaven. Cf. IX. 375—381.

114, 115. i.e. each of the *three* passions—anger, envy, despair—

dimmed his face which was ⁶three times changed with the paleness caused by them. Cf. such expressions as 'pale with anger,' 'pale with envy.'

114. *passion*; used by M. of any strong emotion, deep feeling.

115. *pale*=paleness; cf. *dark* & darkness, III. 45 (where see note).

116. *borrowed*; see III. 634—644.

118, 119. An allusion perhaps (as certainly in VI. 788, IX. 729, 730) to Vergil's *tantane animis celestibus iſe?*—*Æneid* I. 11.

123. *couched with*, united with; it implies dying hid (F. *couché*).

124—130. Cf. Uriel's words, 564—575.

126. *the Assyrian mount*, Niphates; see III. 742, note.

131. *fares*, travels; the literal sense of A. S. *fāran*; cf. Germ. *fahren*, to travel. So often in Spenser; cf. *Faerie Queene* II. I. 2, "forth he fares," and II. v. 12, "fare on foot." This notion of 'travelling' is kept in 'railway-fare,' & thorough-fare.

132. *Eden...Paradise*. Masson says: "Eden is the whole tract or district of Western Asia [see 210—14] wherein the Creator has designed that men should first dwell; Paradise is the Happy Garden situated in one particular spot of this Eden—on its eastern side." Cf. *Gen.* ii. 8, "God planted a garden eastward in Eden." *Paradise*=Gk *παράδεισος*, a park; a word of Persian origin.

134. *champain head*, level summit; *champuin*; see G.

The garden occupies a plateau or table-land, circular in shape (VIII. 304) and surrounded by a grassy mound or wall (143). On the inner side of this mound is a circling row of fruit trees; their tops are visible from the outside. On the outer side of the mound the hill slopes steep down, covered with shrubs and trees, the tops of which, though lofty, are below the level of the mound and so do not obstruct Adam's view ('prospect') from it over the plain beneath.

This idea of placing the Garden on the summit of a hill is traced to *Ezek.* xxviii. 13, 14, "Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God,... thou wast upon the holy mountain of God." Dante and Ariosto had previously given the Garden a similar site (Keightley). Cf. 224—226.

139. The line is intended to suggest variety. Cf. II. 948, "O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense or rare." See 538.

140. *banks*; like the ascending tiers of seats in an amphitheatre.

147, 148. *fruit*, a collective word for all the separate pieces=*fruits*.

149. *enamelled*, bright and variegated like enamel; see G.

151. Cf. *Comus*, 992, "Iris there with humid bow" (=the rainbow).

153. *landskip*, landscape; see G.

of, after, following upon; cf. Wordsworth, *Recluse*, "Happier of

happy though I be." The idiom is modelled on the use of *καὶ* in Greek and *ex* in Latin to express one condition following on another; cf. e.g. *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδουρκότερος* (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 454) or Horace's *ex humili potens* (*Od.* III. 30. 12). Cf. XII. 167, "of guests he makes them slaves."

158. *native perfumes*, i.e. of the trees, flowers etc.

159—165. "The fragrance thus wafted out to sea, sometimes to a distance of twenty or more miles, is well known to every sailor who has been in the West Indies or in the Indian Archipelago" (Keightley). Editors quote various similar allusions in writers of the 17th century, e.g. Waller's lines, "So we the Arabian coast do know, At distance, when the spices blow" (*Night-piece*). Diodorus Siculus (III. 46) describes how in springtime, when the wind is from the land, the fragrance of the myrrh and similar trees reaches the passing vessels, even far out to sea. Probably M. had this special description in mind, as it is removed only a few chapters from that account of Ammon and Amalthea which was the undoubted source of ll. 275—279.

161. *Mozambic*; more commonly *Mozambique*; a Portuguese province on the east coast of Africa, opposite Madagascar.

north-east; rather *north*, according to modern geography.

162. *Sabæan*, of or from *Saba* = Sheba; see G.

163. *Araby the Blest* = Gk *Ἀραβία ἡ εὐδαίμων*, Lat. *Arabia Felix*, each epithet indicating the fertility of the region. The notion of the fragrances and spices of Arabia—myrrh, frankincense etc.—is a commonplace of poetry; cf. *P. R.* II. 364, "winds...Arabian odours fanned"; and Thomson, *Liberty* III., "*blessed Arabia aromatic breathes*."

166. *so*; his favourite completion of a simile; cf. 192, III. 440.

167—171. There is a similar allusion in v. 221—3 to the story of Tobias and the evil spirit Asmodeus told in the Apocryphal *Book of Tobit*. Tobias was sent on a journey by his father Tobit to fetch ten talents of silver deposited with a friend in Media. The angel Raphael appeared to Tobias in human form, acted as his guide, and bade him marry a Jewish maiden, Sara, who lived at Echatana in Media. Her seven husbands had been destroyed in succession by Asmodeus who was in love with her. To escape their fate, Tobias was instructed by Raphael to burn the heart and liver of a fish, since the smell ("fishy fume") would drive away the spirit. This he did after his betrothal to Sara, and the plan succeeded: for Asmodeus "fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him" (chap. viii.).

Cf. Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), speaking of burnt incense as a charm against evil spirits: "wheresoever the fume

or smoke thereof shall come, everie kind and sort of devils may be driven awaie, and expelled, as they were at the incense of the liver of fish, which the archangel Raphael made" (book xv. chap. 18).

168. *Asmodeus*, one of the rebellious angels expelled from Heaven; called by M. *Asmadai* in VI. 365 and *Asmodai* in *P. R.* II. 151—forms closer to the Heb. *Aschmedai*, 'the destroyer.' He is thought to be connected with the *Aeshmā Daevā* (an evil demon) of the ancient Persian religion. He is sometimes taken as a type of lust, perhaps through the story in the *Book of Tobit*; cf. *P. R.* II. 150—152, and Tennyson, *St. Simeon Stylites*, 169, "Abaddon and Asmodeus caught at me." (See note on VI. 363.)

170. *with a vengeance*; an intensive phrase, used here with a certain grim humour = 'in all speed,' Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 2. 6, "he's vengeance proud," i.e. intensely; but there the use is more colloquial.

171. *post*, post haste.

172. *savage*, wild; cf. *P. R.* III. 23, "savage wilderness." It is derived from Lat. *silvaticus*, woody.

176. *perplexed*, made difficult (or entangled).

177. *that passed*, i.e. that might have passed.

178. *east*. Cf. "eastern gate" 542 and again XII. 638.

181. *bound...bound*. Such jingling sounds are common in M. (as in classical writers). Cf. "tempted our attempt," I. 642; "beseeching or besieging," V. 869; "feats of war defeats," *S. A.* 1278. Generally he expresses sarcasm by them, or contempt, e.g. here Satan's contempt of the barrier. (See Mayor's note on the 2nd *Philippic* xi. 25.)

182. *sheer*, clean, right over.

192. Cf. the parable of 'the Good Shepherd,' *John* x. 1—16.

193. One of Milton's prose-works was a treatise on "The Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church" (1659). It seemed to him wrong that ministers of religion should receive salaries, and he was ever ready to bring the charge of avarice and love of lucre against the clergy of the Anglican Church. Cf. XII. 507—511, and the denunciation (appropriately assigned to Saint Peter—cf. 1 *Pet.* v. 2) in *Lycidas* of the false, greedy shepherds who "Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold" (*Lyc.* 115). We must remember that he speaks as an enemy, a bitter enemy, of the Anglican Church. *lowd*, base; see G.

194. *Tree of Life*; see *Genesis* ii. 9.

196. i.e. in the shape of a cormorant, chosen because a ravenous bird of prey (cf. III. 431) and thus symbolical of Satan himself; cf. *Richard II.* II. 1. 38, *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 125. As a sea-bird it does not

seem very appropriate in Paradise; but cf. *Isaiah* xxxiv. 11 (where, however, 'pelican' is the correct rendering).

198. *virtue*, efficacy; see G.

199—201. *well used*. What use could Satan have made of the tree? He was already immortal. Perhaps M. means that if Satan had eaten of the tree's fruit its saving power might have given him *true life*—a regeneration of spirit that, leading to repentance, would have enabled him to regain his true archangelic immortality.

203. *perverts*; the subject is *he* understood from "before him."

208—210. Cf. 132, note.

210—214. According to these limits, which indicate, however, only its eastern and western points, Eden lay in Syria and Mesopotamia—mainly in the latter.

211. *Auran*, or *Hauran*, a district of Syria, about 50 miles S. of Damascus; Gk. *Ἀύρανις*. Probably M. remembered that it is mentioned in *Ezek.* xlvii. 16, 18, as an eastern bound of Palestine.

212. *Seleucia*; long the capital of Western Asia; on the right bank of the Tigris, about 20 miles S.E. of the modern Bagdad; sometimes called *Seleucia ad Tigrin* or *Seleucia Babylonia*. Here, and again in *P. R.* III. 291, M. terms it "*great Seleucia*" to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, such as the Seleucia near Antioch. It was built by Seleucus, a Macedonian who became one of Alexander's generals, and about 312 B.C. founded the dynasty of the Seleucids, *kings of Syria* (cf. "*Grecian kings*").

213, 214. A second description of the site of Eden: it was in that region of Telassar where the "children of Eden" dwelt (2 *Kings* xix. 12, *Isai.* xxxvii. 12). They "appear from the Assyrian inscriptions to have inhabited the country on the east bank of the Euphrates, about the modern Balis. Here they had a city called Beth-Adina, which was taken by the Assyrians about B.C. 880" (*Speaker's Commentary*).

216—222. See *Genesis* ii. 9.

229. *blooming*, bearing luxuriantly. *ambrosial*; see G.

223. "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden," *Gen.* ii. 10. In ix. 71—73 M. identifies his river with the Tigris.

224. *his*, its. *shaggy*; as a wood-covered hill appears, seen sideways.

225—236. The river flowing through Eden reaches the hill on the level summit (cf. 134) of which is Paradise. Part of the river goes straight through by a subterranean passage and issues in the plain (cf. 145) on the other side. But part of its water is drawn up through the hill to the surface in the form of a fountain, the waters of which

become rills. These rills irrigate Paradise and then, uniting into a water-course, run down the "hairy side" (135) of the hill to join the rest of the river where it emerges from its underground channel. Then the whole river divides into four great streams.

233. *four main streams*; see *Genesis* ii. 10-14.

234. *wandering*; transitive; cf. XI. 779, "wandering that desert."

236, 237. The original texts have the comma after *tell*, not after *how* in 237. Some modern texts reverse this punctuation—and spoil the rhythm.

237. *sapphire*, sapphire-coloured, i.e. light blue. *fount*, source; cf. III. 536. *crisped*, rippling; often used of wind ruffling the surface of water; cf. Byron, *Childe Harold* IV. 211, "I would not their vile breath should crisp the stream." See *Comus*, 984.

238. *orient*, lustrous; see G.

239. *error*; in the literal sense of Lat. *error*, a wandering. Cf. Tennyson, *Gareth*, "The damsel's headlong error through the wood."

241. *nice*, precise, critical. Supply some verb like 'set'

242. *curious knots*, plots of ground laid out in a fanciful style. *knots*; see G. *boon*, bounteous (Lat. *alma*); see G.

245. *unpierced*, not penetrated, i.e. by the sun.

246. *imbrowned*, darkened; cf. Ital. *imbriunire*. See G.

246, 247. *Thus was*, i.e. such was—*seat* being in apposition to *place*. Some editors remove the comma after *place* and make *rural seat* a complement of the predicate. Milton's sense and rhythm have been affected in many passages by needless change of the punctuation.

view, appearance, aspect.

248. *gums*, i.e. aromatic resins like myrrh and *balsam* (= *balm*), produced by the balsam-tree (*βαλσαμόδετρον*) and other trees of the same genus. See v. 23. *wept*; cf. *Othello*, v. e. 378-50.

250. *amiable*, lovely; cf. "thy amiable cheeks," *Midsommer-Night's Dream*, IV. i. 2; and *Psalms* lxxxiv. 1.

Hesperian...here only, 'the stories told of the apples of the Hesperides being true only of this place, if at all.' It is an absolute clause, in parenthesis. For the allusion see III. 568.

252. *lawns*, glades, wide spaces clear of trees.

255. *irriguous*, well-watered (Lat. *irriguus*).

256. Thyer quotes Herrick, *Noble Numbers*:

"Before man's fall the rose was born,
Saint Ambrose says, without a thorn."

Others of the Church-Fathers held the same fancy, which seems to have

been applied also to the fabulous gardens of Adonis; cf. Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, v. 3, "thou art not now in Adonis' garden, but in Cynthia's presence, where thorns lie in garrison about the roses."

257. i.e. on another side there were.

264. apply; either 'practise' or 'add'; see G.

266—68. An allegorical way of saying, with entirely classical imagery, that in Eden only one season was known, viz. spring, and that it was a time of universal luxuriance of growth and freshness and grace.

Pan; here regarded as the god of all nature, and called 'universal' in allusion to his name (Gk *πᾶν*, all).

Graces, Lat. *Gratiae*, Gk *χαῖρες*; three goddesses (Euphrosyne, Aglaia, Thalia) who personified the refinements and elevated joys of life.

Hours, Lat. *Horae*, Gk *ὥραι*; goddesses personifying the seasons of the year; the course of the seasons was symbolically described as "the dance of the *Horae*" (cf. *P. L.* v. 394, 395). Classical writers often mention them along with the Graces.

268. *let on*; the metaphor of a dance; cf. Milton's *Sonnet* 'To the Nightingale,' 4, "While the jolly *Hours lead on* propitious May."

268—287. He indicates the beauty of Paradise by saying that it surpassed various spots celebrated for their charm.

268—272. According to the classical legend, Proserpine was carried off by Pluto = Dis (270), to the nether world, unknown to her mother Ceres, and became his wife. Latin poets (e.g. Ovid, *Fæsti* iv. 42—462) made *Enna* in Sicily the scene of the incident, the worship of Ceres having been introduced into Rome from Sicily.

269. Scan *Proserpin*, and cf. the Latin accent and form in ix. 396, "Yet virgin of *Proserpinâ* from Jove."

271. *that*, the well-known, Lat. *ille*; so in 271, 272, 275.

272. "Near the city of Antioch, on the Orontes, lay a grove sacred to Apollo, in which was a temple of the god, whence he gave oracles. It was named Daphnè, and a spring which watered it was called the Castalian spring, after that at Delphi" (Keightley).

275—279. See *Appendix*, p. 125.

278. *florid*, ruddy, being the god of wine; cf. Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*, 42, "Flushed with a purple grace" (said of Bacchus).

280—85. Todd quotes Heylin: "the hill of Amara is a day's journey high, on the top whereof are thirty-four palaces in which the younger sons of the Emperor [i.e. of Abyssinia] are continually enclosed to avoid sedition;...though not much distant from the Equator, if not plainly under it, yet [it is] blessed with such a temperate air that some

have taken (but mistaken) it for the place of Paradise." M. had clearly read this passage in Heylin, who seems to have been his chief authority in matters relating to the customs of foreign nations and in points of geography—see III. 438, note.

The tradition with regard to the Abyssinian princes is used by Johnson in *Rasselas*, but he speaks of a single palace, and places it in a 'happy valley,' not on the top of a mountain.

280, 281. *nor where, nor the place where*, viz. Mt Amara.

Abassin, Abyssinian; see G. *Amara*; correctly *Amhara*; it is rather a range of hills than a single 'mount.'

282. *Ethiopia line*, the equator. *Ethiop*; the people of Abyssinia still call their land *Itiopia* and themselves *Itiopyavan* (i.e. not using the Arabic name—see *Abassin* in the *Glossary*).

283. Shakespeare uses *Nilus* and *Nile*. *head*, source.

288, 289. The repetition of "erect" is important, since M. treats man's upright stature as a symbol of his sovereignty over the 'prone' beast-creation, VII. 506—510.

291, 292. See *Genesis* i. 26, 27. Cf. Thomson, "The godlike face of man," *Winter*, 404.

295. *whence*; it refers either to "truth, wisdom, sanctitude" (i.e. holiness), these qualities, not birth and position, conferring true authority; or to "*filial* freedom," with the notion that only as man himself obeys God filially can he expect others to obey him.

295—299. This relation of woman to man—"not equal"—runs throughout the scenes in which Adam and Eve are introduced. Johnson says, "the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained" (*Life of Milton*). Such lines as these and 635—38 express Milton's personal conception of woman's status and capacities; and how much it differed from modern views may be illustrated by the single fact that his treatise *On Education* makes no reference to the education of women. There is only a touch of exaggeration in Johnson's remark that Milton's works reveal "something like a Turkish contempt of females as subordinate and inferior beings."

300. *front*, forehead (Lat. *frons*); often in Shakespeare.

301. *hyacinthine*; a classical epithet. Homer speaks of hair (κρόαι) "like to a hyacinth" (ὡς κρόαιον ἄνθος ποικίλον), *Odyssey* VI. 231. A dark colour, perhaps deep brown, seems implied.

303. See 1 *Cor.* xi. 14.

304. Cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 15, "if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering"—in the margin, *veil*.

307, 308. *implied subjection*; M. infers this from 1 Cor. xi. 8—15.

310. *coy*, modest (in a good sense).

311. The slow rhythm of the line is meant to suggest delay.

314. *honour dishonourable*. Cf. Tennyson's famous line, "His honour rooted in dishonour stood" (*Lancelot and Elaine*). M. often uses this classical figure of speech called *oxymoron* by which two words connoting opposite ideas are closely associated. Cf. "darkness visible," I. 63, "splendid vassalage," II. 252. See III. 380, note.

323, 324. A famous example of an idiom often used by Elizabethan, as it had been by Greek, writers. It combines the comparative and superlative constructions—thus: 'Adam goodli-er than all men' + 'Adam goodli-est of all men': 'Eve fair-er than all her daughters' + 'Eve fair-est of all women.' So M. writes in *Arcopagitica*, "this very opinion...is the worst and newest opinion of all others" (*P. W.* II. 98); and Shak. in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V. 252, "This is the greatest error of all the rest." Its independent existence in Greek and English proves that the idiom, though illogical, is natural—due perhaps to over-emphasis. It is just the sort of combined construction into which people slip in conversation. See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 296.

329. *recommend*, make pleasant.

332. *compliant*; probably in the rare sense 'pliant, easily bent,' due to the false derivation from F. *plier*, Lat. *plicare*.

333. *recline* = Lat. *reclinis*, reclining.

334. *damasked*, variegated; see G.

337, 338. *purpose*, conversation; see G. *wanted*, were lacking.

341. *i.e.* all beasts of chase.

343. *ramped*, sprang; or 'reared'; see G.

344. *ounce*, a lynx (*felis uncia*); from Persian *yus*, a panther.

348—350. *insinuating*, winding himself into folds (Lat. *sinus*). *Gordian twine*, intricate tangle; see *Gordian* in G. *his braided train*, his twisted, interlaced tail; or perhaps the whole length of his body.

349. *fatal guile*; a premonitory hint of the Serpent's future fraud.

352. *bedward ruminating*; chewing the cud (Lat. *ruminantes*) before they go to bed.

354. *the Ocean Isles*, *i.e.* in the Atlantic, in which, according to the classical fancy, the sun set; cf. *Comus*, 95—97. In VIII. 631, 632, M. seems to identify them with the Cape de Verde islands.

ascending scale; to be taken, I think, not literally as a reference to an astronomical fact or theory, but merely as a metaphor for the alternations of day and night.

356. *as first he stood*; see 285—87.
357. *failed*, that had failed him.
358. Jealousy is another cause of Satan's enmity to man.
360. *mould*; in M. a constant word for 'material, substance.'
- 361, 362. "A little lower than the angels," *Psalm* viii. 5.
363. *lively*, vividly: cf. *living* in 605.
368. *ye*; often used in Elizabethan E. for the *objective* case, like *you*.
370. *for so happy*, considering how happy they are: their security is not in proportion to their happiness. Cf. *for* in 372.
374. *forlorn*, defenceless, "ill secured." (370.)
- 381—83. An allusion to *Isaiah* xiv. 9.
387. *for him*, instead of him; or perhaps 'because of.'
- 388, 390. 'Public reason—viz. honour and empire—compels.'
- *public reason*; so in *S. A.* 865—70 Dalila excuses her treachery to Samson on the ground that "the public good" of her country required it.
- 393, 394. *necessity, the tyrant's plea*. Perhaps an allusion to Charles's plea for ship-money (Newton).
- 398, 399. *end*, purpose, aim, viz., "to view."
402. *a lion*. "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about," 1 *Pet.* v. 8. In 1. 428 M. says that spirits can take "what shape they choose." Such notions are very common in works of the 16th and 17th centuries on demonology. (See 1. 428, note.)
404. *purlieu*, outskirt of a forest; see G.
405. *couches*; some modern texts misprint *crouches*.
408. M. always uses the older form *gripe*, not *grip*; cf. VI. 543.
- 408—410. The construction is—"When Adam, by beginning to address Eve, made Satan turn."
410. Cf. *Comus*, 560, "I was all ear"; as we say, 'all attention.'
411. There is, I think, an almost quibbling use of *sole*=(1) 'only,' (2) 'unique' (implying 'chief'). Eve is the *only* sharer in Adam's joys—and herself the chief element of them.
419. See *Acts* xvii. 25.
431. *possess*, occupy; cf. *Romeo*, III. 2. 27, "I have bought the mansion, ... not possessed it."
442. *end*, purpose; as in 398.
443. "The head of the woman is the man," 1 *Cor.* xi. 3.
447. *odds*, superiority; often used so by Shakespeare; cf. *Richard II.* III. 4. 80; *Titus Andronicus*, v. 2. 39, "thou hast the odds of me."
- 449, 450. In book VIII. 253—255 Adam likens his creation to awaking from sleep.

451. *on flowers*; so the 1st Ed.; the 2nd Ed. has *of flowers*.

453—465. M. had in mind Ovid's story of Narcissus, *Metamorphoses* III. 457 *et seq.*

455. *stays*, i.e. for-a-waits.

475. Cf. XI. 159, "Eve rightly called, Mother of all Mankind." Cf. 492. The name *Eve* is thought to mean 'life.'

478. *platane*, plane-tree (Lat. *platanus*).

483—85. "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman," *Gen.* ii. 23.

486. *individuū*, in the literal sense 'not to be divided' = inseparable; cf. v. 610. Lat. *individuus*.

487, 488. So Horace addresses Mæcenas as *meæ pars animæ*, and calls Vergil *animæ dimidium meæ* (*Odes* II. 17. 5; I. 3. 8).

488. *with that*, thereupon, straightway.

493. *unreproved*, not to be reproved, blameless; see G.

500. *impregnis* = *impregnautes*; O. F. *empreigner*, Lat. *imprægnare*.

501. *shed*, i.e. with their moisture cause to grow.

503. Cf. IX. 262—264.

506. *imparadis'd*; used by other writers of the 17th century. Cf. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph after Death*, 44, "in his burning throne he sits emparadis'd"; and Fletcher, *Purple Island* I. 15.

511. *pinés*; probably transitive = 'makes me pine' Cf. XII. 77 and *P. R.* I. 325, "pined with hunger."

525—27. See III. 206, note.

530. *a chance but*, it is a chance, just a possibility, *that*.

538. See 139, note.

539. *in utmost longitude*, in the farthest west. See III. 576, note.

540—43. "The rays of the setting sun fell on the inner side of the towering rock which formed the gate of Paradise on the east.

549. *Gabriel*, 'map of God'; one of the seven great Spirits; see VI. 648, note. Following, no doubt, some tradition, M. makes him in *P. L.* one of the chief warriors of the Heavenly host, though inferior to Michael (VI. 45, 46). In the Bible Gabriel is always a peaceful intermediary between Heaven and Earth and the bearer of tidings to man (cf. *Daniel* viii., ix., *Luke* i.), and that is the ordinary conception of his office; see pp. xxxviii, xxxix and cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, I. II:

"Out of the Hierarchies of angels heen

The gentle Gabriel call'd he [the Almighty] from the rest,

'Twixt God and souls of men that righteous been

Ambassador is he, for ever blest;

The just commands of Heaven's Eternal King,
 'Twixt skies and earth, he up and down doth bring."

That aspect of Gabriel is presented in *P. R.* i. 129, iv. 504.

551—54. Cf. a similar scene in ii. 528—38, with the note there.

553. *armoury*, weapons; in apposition to "shields" etc. See G.

557. *thwarts*, crosses. See G.

558. *shows*; the subject is *star*; some modern texts misprint *show*, making *vapours* the subject.

561. When M. speaks of the offices assigned to the Heavenly beings he seems to have in his mind the Temple-service of the Jews and the distribution of the Levites "by lot," i *Chror.* xxiv., xxv. Note also the "courses" of service in i *Chron.* xxvii., and cf. *P. L.* v. 655.

565, 566. Cf. Satan's words in iii. 667—676.

567. *God's latest image*; the first was Christ; cf. iii. 63, with note, described. Uriel had directed Satan's course, ii. 722—35. *Described*, which some modern texts print, is merely a misreading.

568. *aery gait*, course through the air.

569—573. Cf. 124—130. *in*=on; a common Elizabethan use; cf. the Lord's Prayer, "in earth, as it is in heaven."

580. *vigilance*, guards; abstract for concrete. Cf. *watch*=watchmen, ii. 130.

590—592. "While Uriel and Gabriel have been conversing, the Sun has fallen to the horizon, so that the sunbeam on which Uriel returns inclines *from Paradise to the Sun*" (Masson).

592. *beneath the Azores*, i.e. in the extreme west.

592—595. He will not decide whether the sun had revolved to the west or the Earth to the east, i.e. whether the Ptolemaic astronomy (according to which the Earth was a stationary body) or the Copernican is right. Cf. iii. 574, note. For the general purposes of his poem M. accepts the old Ptolemaic system, but he lets the reader see that he knows the Copernican theories. (See notes on viii. 130—140.)

592. *prime orb*; surely the sun, "the great luminary" (cf. *prime*=chief), with "lucent orb," iii. 576, 589, the "diurnal star," x. 1069; not, as some think, the Primum Mobile.

593. *incredible*; an absolute construction like iii. 76 (see note).

594. *diurnal*, in its daily course.

volubil; in form, accent and sense=Lat. *volubilis*, 'rolling.' The Latin accentuation of words derived from Latin was very marked in Elizabethan E.; it has steadily declined, the Teutonic tendency in E. being to throw the accent forward, e.g. we say *voluble*; *aspect*, not

aspect = Lat. *aspectus* (see 541, III. 266); *edict*, not *edict* = Lat. *edictum* (see *S. A.* 301); *commerce*, not *commerce* (as in Shak.) = Lat. *commercium*.

- 598. Cf. "grey-hooded Even," *Comus*, 188.
- 599. *livery*, dress; see G.
- 603. *descant*, song with variations; see G. Cf. *Georgic* IV. 511.
- 604. So in *Comus*, 557—560, when "The Lady" sang, "even Silence" was enchanted.
- 605. *living*, vivid. *Hesperus*, the evening-star (Venus).
- 608. *apparent queen*, revealed a queen—manifestly a queen.
- 612. *mind*, remind, make us think of.
- 614. Cf. *Richard III.* IV. 1. 84, "the golden dew of sleep."
- 615. *inclines*, weighs down; Lat. *inclinare*, to bend down.
- 620. *regard*, watch (cf. III. 534); in 377 = 'look' (F. *regarder*).
- 625. *reform*, trim.
- 626. *alleys*, garden-walks; see G.
- 628. *manuring*, cultivation; see G.
- 629. *wanton*, too luxuriant; cf. "wanton green" (grass), *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 99.
- 630. *those dropping gums*. See 248, note.
- 632. *ask*, require; a common Elizabethan use, cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, II. 115, "my business asketh haste." Akin to Germ. *herrschen*, to demand.
- 635—38. See 295—99, note.
- 635. *author*, i.e. the source of her being; cf. 441.
- 640. *seasons*, times of the day, not year (see 266—268, note).
- 642. *charm*, song; see G.
- 644. *orient*, perhaps = 'rising' (Lat. *oriens*); cf. "first" in 643 and "rising sun" in 651. See G.
- 647. *grateful evening mild*; for the order see III. 44, note.
- 659. *general ancestor*; cf. "general mother," said of Eve, 492.
- 663. *accomplished*; a flattering address = 'perfect'; cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 95, "Most excellent accomplished lady!"
- 665. *darkness*, i.e. the "original darkness" (II. 984) of Chaos.
- 667—73. A reference to current astrology; see *influence* in G.
- 671. *virtue*, efficacy; as in 198.
- 673. Cf. what is said of the sun's power in III. 606—612.
- 674. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, IV. 3. 226, "The deep of night is crept upon our talk," and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. 4. 40.
- 675. *none*, placed last for emphasis; cf. XI. 612, "they his gifts acknowledged none," i.e. none of his gifts. See 704.

676. *want*, lack, be without; cf. 730.

682. *to the air*, i.e. *singing* forth to.

684—88. The construction is—'Often, while they keep watch or make the nightly rounds, their songs, joined in harmonious measures ("number") with the notes of instruments skilfully touched, divide the night.'

686. *touch*; see G.

688. *divide*, i.e. into watches, *divide the night*; literally = the Latin phrase *dividere noctem* used of Roman soldiers marking the watches of the night by sounding on a trumpet the signal for relieving guard. Cf. Silius Italicus, VII. 154, *cum bucina noctem divideret*. So Lucan uses *dividere horas*, II. 689. Tennyson gives a fresh turn to the phrase; cf. *A Dream of Fair Women*, "Saw God divide the night with flying flame."

691. *souvan*; for this partly Italian form see G.

694. *lauril.. myrtle*; in apposition to *shade*; cf. 138, 139.

697—703. Cf. the description of the flowers with which the bier of Lycidas is to be decked, *Lyc.* 139—151. The "bower" in Tennyson's *Enone* owes something to these lines.

699. *flourished*, flourishing; or perhaps 'lofty, uplifted,' from the metaphor of 'flourishing,' i.e. brandishing, a sword—cf. "reared high."

703. *emblem*, inlaid work; cf. *inlay* in 701. See *emblem* in G.

704. *nona*; see 675, note.

706. *feigned*, i.e. by poets.

707, 708. *Sylvanus*, a Latin divinity of the fields and woods (Lat. *silva*, wood), much the same as *Faunus*, the god of fields and shepherds, or the Greek *Pan*, god of flocks and pastoral life. The three deities were often identified.

711. *the hymenean*, the marriage-song; from *Hymen*, the classical marriage-god. See *Introduction*, p. xxvii.

712. *genial* = Lat. *genitalis* in the sense 'nuptial'; cf. *lectus genitalis*.

713—719. To benefit mankind, Prometheus ('fore-thought') stole the fire of Zeus (Jove); Zeus in revenge caused Hephaestus (Vulcan) to make a woman out of earth who should bring misery on mankind. She was called Pandora or *All-gifted* (Gr. *pánra*, all + *dōra*, gifts) because each of the gods endowed her with some power fatal to mankind. Hermes, the messenger of the gods, conducted her to Epimetheus ('after-thought')—'the unwise son'; and, not forgetting the advice of his brother, Prometheus, not to accept anything from Zeus, married her. Pandora brought with her from heaven a box

containing all human ills and let them loose upon mankind. Thus Zeus was revenged upon Prometheus, the benefactor of mankind. Another version of the legend said that the box contained blessings, all which, save hope, escaped and abandoned the world when Pandora opened the lid.

M. had made a precisely similar application of the story in his *Doctrine of Disgrace*, 1643, calling Eve "a consummate and most adorned Pandora," and Adam "our true Epimetheus," (*P. W.* III. 224).

716—719. The construction is—'when, brought by Hermes to the unwiser son, he ensnared mankind, so as to bring vengeance (i.e. of Jove) on him who etc.'

716. *event*, issue, result, Lat. *eventus*.

unwiser, i.e. less wise than Prometheus.

717. *Japhet* = Gk. *Iapetos*, one of the Titans, father of Prometheus and Epimetheus. Apparently, M. identifies him with the Japhet of Scripture. Cf. *S. A.* 715, 716, where, as in *Isaiah* lxvi. 19, *Javan* stands for the Greek race—*Javan* being the son of the Scriptural Japhet, *Genesis* x. 2. (*Javan* is the same word as *Ἰων*, older form *Idw*, whence *Ionians*, the section of the Greeks with whom the Hebrews were best acquainted through Phœnician trade. See *P. L.* I. 508, "*Ionian gods, of Javan's issue*.")

719. *stole*; so the original texts; we find it in Shakespeare; cf. *Macbeth*, II. 3. 73; *Julius Caesar*, II. 1. 238.

authentic, original, genuine; cf. *H.* 656.

720. *stood*. In *Christian Doctrine*, II. iv., M. says, "No particular posture of the body in prayer was enjoined, even under the law." He makes Adam and Eve sometimes stand (XI. 1), sometimes kneel (XI. 150) when they pray.

722. The use of *both* with more than two things is quite Elizabethan; cf. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 747. "Both favour, sayour, hue and qualities" (i.e. *four* objects as here).

724—735. The words of adoration offered by Adam and Eve.

729. *this delicious place*; the object of *thou madest* (724).

733. *fill the Earth* = "replenish the earth," *Gen.* i. 28.

735. "He giveth his beloved sleep," *Psalms* cxxvii. 2. Homer speaks of the "gift of sleep," *ἄρνον δῶρον*, *Iliad* ix, 713, and Vergil has a similar thought, *Æneid* ix, 266.

736, 737. M. often shows his dislike of ceremonies and forms in worship, cf. *XII.* 524.

739. *handed*, hand in hand.

741—62. Various texts of Scripture dealing with marriage are referred to, e.g. *Gen.* i. 28; *1 Tim.* iv. 1—3; *Ephes.* v. 32; *Heb.* xiii. 4.

744—47. The allusion is to monachism and the celibacy of priests.

751. *sole propriety*, the one thing held by its owners (Adam and Eve) as their exclusive possession. Lat. *proprius*, one's own.

756. *charities*, feelings of love, affections (Lat. *caritates*); see G.

763. According to legend, "*winged Cupid*" (*Midsummer-Night's Dream*, i. i. 235), the god of love, had two sorts of arrows, one tipped with gold to inspire love, the other with lead to repel love (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* i. 469—471). Cf. the Glosse to Spenser's *Shepheards Calender*, March, "He [Cupid] is sayd to have shafts, some leaden, some golden." Otsiffo in *Twelfth Night*, i. i. 35, speaks of love's "rich golden shaft." The allusion is common in Elizabethan poets.

764. *constant lamp*; cf. xi. 590, "They light the nuptial torches purple, lustrous; see G. The imagery of the couplet is classical; cf. 708—712.

767. *court-amours*. Probably M. is glancing at the dissolute court of Charles II. Cf. a similar sarcasm in i. 497; also in *P.R.* ii. 183.

768. *mixed dance*. The Puritans greatly disliked the practice of men and women dancing together. In *Of Reformation* M. unites "gaming [gambling], wassailing [drinking], and mixed dancing" in one condemnation, *P. IV.* ii. 402.

mask, a private form of theatrical entertainment, the forerunner of the opera; so called because originally the performers wore masks or vizards. The mask was much patronised by the court and great nobles from Elizabeth's reign up to the outbreak of the Civil War; after the Restoration mask-performances were very rare, so that the allusion here had not very much point in 1667. M. was thinking of the past generation to which really he belonged. He himself wrote a mask in *Comus*, 1634; but the Milton of *Paradise Lost*, 1667, was a very different person. (See the essay on the mask prefixed to *Comus*, pp. li—lxxvi, Pitt Press ed.)

769. *serenate*, serenade; see G.

starved, perishing with cold; similarly used in ii. 600. Cf. Horace's picture of a lover shivering by night outside the house of his "proud fair" Lydia or Lyce (*Odes*, i. 35 and iii. 10).

773. *repaired*, made good the loss of, i. e. with fresh roses.

775. *knbw to know*, are wise enough to seek no further knowledge.

776, 777. "As the earth is a globe, her shadow, the sun being so much larger than she is, must form a cone; which moves as the sun

moves, and on the opposite side. Night and day then in Paradise consisting each of twelve hours, the earth's cone would, at midnight, be in the meridian, and the half-way uphill to it [the meridian] would be therefore nine o'clock, the commencement of the second watch" (Keightley).

sublunar vault, the expanse of heaven below the moon. The epithet *sublunar* helps to fix how far up the heaven the Earth's shadow had climbed: by nine o'clock it had not got as far as the moon.

778. *port*, gate (*porta*); cf. *Coriolanus*, v. 6. 6, "The city ports."

778—780. Note that M. always assigns to the Cherubim the duty of sentinels; cf. *Genesis* iii. 24. Throughout *P. L.* they are pre-eminently the 'watchful' powers, xi. 128. It was a mediæval belief that they had a peculiar power of seeing—a belief originally due, no doubt, to Ezekiel's description of the Cherubim; cf. *Ezek.* i. 18, 'full of eyes round about them,' and x. 12. Shakespeare also alludes in three passages to their traditional sharpness of vision—*Macbeth*, i. 7. 22—24, *Hamlet*, W. 3. 50, *Troilus*, III. 2. 74. See *Appendix*, p. 122.

782. *Uzziel* = 'strength of God.' The name occurs in the Bible (e.g. in *Exod.* vi. 18), but not as that of an angel. *coat*, skirt; see G.

784. *as flame*; an apt simile, since the Cherubim are literally lustrous beings—"radiant files" (797).

785. M. has borrowed the Greek phrases ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, 'on the shield side, i.e. to the left,' and ἐπὶ δόρυ, 'to the spear side, i.e. to the right.' The Greek soldier wore his shield (*aspis*) on the left arm, and held his spear (*dory*) in the right hand. We find παρ' ἀσπίδα and παρὰ δόρυ used thus.

786. *from these*, i.e. from the band of Cherubim which had wheeled "to the spear" and were to be under the command of Gabriel himself.

788. *Ithuriel*, 'the discovery of God.' *Zephon*, 'a looking out.' The flames suit the duty which Gabriel assigns to these two Cherubim.

791. *secure of*, unsuspecting of, not fearing; see G.

792, 793. i.e. there arrived *one who* (Lat. *qui*) tells (viz. Uriel). *from the sun's decline*, at sunset; cf. 540.

797. *files*, lines; cf. i. 567, "the armed files."

798. *these*; Ithuriel and Zephon. Understand *went*.

799—800. This episode is made the occasion of a philosophical explanation of dreams in bk vii 100—121.

800. Pope has an effective allusion to this line in the famous satire on 'Sporus' (Lord Hervey), *Epistle to Arbuthnot*.

802. Cf. Shakespear^e, *Merry Wives*, v. 5. 54, 55, "ere she sleep.. Raise up the organs of her fantasy" (=imagination).

803. *list*, wished; a past tense, as in II. 656.

804. *or if*. M. varies the construction: 'trying to reach. trying if he might' etc. *assaying*; see G.

811. *lightly*, i.e. with *only* a light touch, *for* etc.

812. *temper*, a thing tempered, i.e. a weapon: abstract for concrete To 'temper' metal is to harden it by dipping it when hot in cold water

813. *of force*, of necessity; commonly *perforce*. *its*, see G.

815. Nitre or saltpetre is one of the ingredients of gunpowder.

816. *tun*, barrel; *Isow* Lat. *tunna*, a cask, F. *tonneau*.

817. *against*, in preparation for,

821. *grisly*, terrible; G. Geim *grässlich*, horrible, and *grausig*.

829. *there*, i.e. in the higher places of Heaven.

830. Cf. S. A. 1081, 1082, "thou know'st me how If thou at all art known." *argues*, proves, shows (Lat. *arguere*); cf. 931.

834—840. See *Appendix*, p. 119 (Satan's "self-debasement").

835, 836. 'Do not think thy shape the same or thy brightness undiminished, so as to be known.' Probably the natural order of *brightness* and *undiminished* is reversed; but we might also interpret thus—"think not thy undiminished brightness the same"—since to say that his brightness is different from what it was is to imply that it is diminished. *to be known* is consecutive="so as to be known." I keep the punctuation of the original edition.

840. *obscure*; in the literal sense 'dark, gloomy' (Lat. *obscurus*).

843. *these*; Zephon points to Adam and Eve.

847—49. A reminiscence of Persius III. 38, *virtutem rideant, intabescantque relictæ* ("let them see virtue and, leaving her, pine").

848. *shape*=Lat. *forma* in its philosophical sense 'outward manifestation of'; cf. *forma honesti*=*'shape of virtue'*, Cicero, *de Officiis*, I. 5. 15. So M. in his prose-works; cf. *Church Government*, "the very visible shape and image of virtue"; and again, "the lovely shapes of virtues and graces," *R. W. N.* 442, 446.

852. i.e. it is best to contend with the greatest ("best") foe, if at all.

856. *wicked...weak*; cf. S. A. 834, "All wickedness is weakness."

862. *those half-rounding guards*, i.e. the Cherubim under Uriel and the others under Gabriel. Each band had made half the circuit of Paradise, and now they met at its western extremity (cf. 864).

869. *port*, bearing: "Their port was more than human," *Com.* 297.

870, 871. Gabriel, belonging to one of the highest of the Heavenly

Orders, has known Satan (an archangel) in the past, and so recognizes him here; Zephon, an inferior angel, did not (cf 830, 831)

• 872. *contest*. M. always accents the *con*, as we do the verb, *contest*, cf. XI. 800, "In sharp *contest* of battle found no aid."

886. *the esteem of wise*, the reputation of being wise.

887. *this question asked*, your asking this question.

891. *whatever*, *any*; cf. 587.

892, 893. *to change with*, *to exchange for*; compare the double use of Lat. *mutare*.

894. *Dole*; Lat. *dolor*, pain. *Which...I sought*, i.e. to do, viz., 'to exchange torment for ease' etc

895. *to thee no reason*; in your opinion this may be no reason.

899. *distance*, prison, strictly 'imprisonment'; abstract for concrete
thus much, i.e. thus much for what was asked, viz. by Gabriel in 878-881.

904. Said ironically. *Ass*, want. *wise*, wisdom.

906. *returns*; probably the subject is 'Satan,' *returns him* being the reflexive use so common in Elizabethan E. with many verbs now intransitive; cf. 1 *Henry VI.* III. 3, 56, "return thee therefore." • Some editors take 'folly' as the subject, and *return* = 'bring back.'

911. *however*, *howsoever*, by any means; it qualifies *fly*.

925. 'I do not come because I have less power to endure.'

926, 927. Either (1) 'I withstood, resisted, thy fiercest attack'—cf. phrases like 'do thy worst'; or (2) 'I proved myself ("stood") thy fiercest foe.' The first way, which makes *stood* transitive, is preferable.

927, 928. The account in bk. vi. of the great battle in Heaven describes how on the third day the Messiah came forth to end the contest, and, hurling "ten thousand thunders" among the rebels, smote them down into Hell.

volleyed; cf. Campbell, "From rank to rank your volleyed thunder flew" (i.e. said of guns fired in volleys).

930, 931. i.e. show thy ignorance of what is the duty of a leader after disaster. *argue*; cf. 830, 949.

• 935. See "The Story of the Poem," *Introduction*, p. liv.

936. *wing*, fly through. *Abys*; see III. 83, note.

938. *fame* = Lat. *fama* in the literal sense 'report'; cf. I. 651, •

"There went a fame in Heaven."

939. *defeated*, struck down (*efficitur*); cf. I. 186. *papers*, forces.

940. An allusion to the Rabbinical view, commonly adopted by mediæval writers, that the angels who fell with Satan were the same as

the spirits or 'dæmons' who inhabited the 'elements' of *earth* and *air*. So in *P. R.* II. 122, 124, Satan addresses his followers as "*Demonian* spirits... Powers of *air*... and *earth*"; and *P. R.* twice describes them assembling "in *mid air*" (I. 39) = "the *middle region* of thick air" (II. 117). Probably the terms in *italics*, and "middle air" in *P. L.* I. 516, all mean the same thing, viz. the middle one (*media regio*) of the three 'regions' of air. Cf. *fl.* 562, note.

941. *put to try*, made, forced, to try. Cf. Shak., *Cymbeline*, II. 3. 110, "you put me to forget a lady's manners."

942. *gay*, fine; perhaps a retort to "obscure" in 940.

949. *argues no leader*, shows you to be no leader. Gabriel is replying to Satan's words in 930—933. *traced*, found out.

953—956. In these lines Gabriel speaks to the host of Satan's followers, as though they were present; *your* refers to them—not, of course, to Satan, whom Gabriel addresses as *thou*. In Shakespeare *thou* is often a contemptuous form of address.

958. *patron*, champion; see III. 219, note.

962. *arced*, advise; see G.

963—967. *chained*; see III. 82, note. *seal*; cf. *Revelation* xx. 3, "And [he] cast him [Satan] into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him." *facile*, easily passed

971. *limitary* = Lat. *limitaris*, guarding the frontier (Lat. *limes*). Satan refers sarcastically to "hallowed *limits*" in Gabriel's speech (964).

973—976. Alluding to the throne-chariot of the Deity conceived as formed of the wings of the Cherubim. Cf. VI. 771, "He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime" (i.e. uplifted). Satan called Gabriel a cherub (971), though properly he was an archangel.

975. "To God's eternal house direct the way; "

A broad and ample *road*, whose dust is gold,
And *pavement stars*" (VII. 576—578).

Cf. the description of "the floor of heaven," *Merchant of Venice*, v. 58.

977—979. i.e. the close array of angels spread itself out in the shape of a crescent moon. Cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, xx. 22, "Like the new moon, his host two horns did spread." *phalanx*, battalion (Grk *φάλαγξ*).

980. *with ported spears*, i.e. "with their spears held in their hands across their breasts and slanting beyond the left shoulder, ready to be brought down to the 'charge' if necessary. The Angels have not the points of their spears turned to Satan [as the phrase used to be explained by editors]; they have them only grasped in the position preparatory to turning them against him" (Masson). 'Port' is really a military term.

Anyone who has ever executed, or seen executed, the command 'Arms, post' (formerly 'Port arms'), will be able to picture to himself the band of Cherubim with slanting spears thick as the slanting stalks of corn—a very appropriate simile. See VII. 321, 322.

981. *Ceres*, corn; strictly the goddess of agriculture.

982. The *beard* is the prickles on the ears of corn.

983. *careful*, anxious.

984. *hopeful*, from which he had hoped so much; or 'which had made him so hopeful' (the epithet being transferred). M. is thinking of Vergil's *expectatus reges*, *Georgic* I. 226.

985. *alarmed*, prepared, on his guard; see G.

986. *dilated*, expanded. Spirits (he says in bk. I. 428, 429) can distend or contract their shapes as they please.

987. *Atlas*, the mountain in Libya on which the sky was supposed by the Greeks to rest. *unremovable*, not to be removed; cf. 493.

988. *crest*, i.e. of his helmet.

990. Cf. the picture of the figure of Death in II. 672, 673:

"what seemed his head

The likeness of a kingly crown had on."

The intentional vagueness of such description is so effective because it stirs but does not satisfy the imagination. It rouses a sense of the mysterious and indescribable.

992. *cope*, canopy, roof; akin to *cape*, *cap*. Cf. Shak., *Pericles*, IV. 6. 132, "the cheapest country under the cope," i.e. firmament.

993. *all the elements*, the whole fabric of this Universe.

994. *wrack*, destruction; old form of *wreck*; cf. "*rack* and ruin," where we should write *wrack*.

996—1004. The general idea of the 'golden scales' of the Almighty is from Homer, *Iliad* VIII. 69—72: "then did the Father [i.e. Zeus] balance his *golden scales* (*χρυσεία τάλαντα*) and put therein two fates of death—one for horse-taming Trojans, one for mail-clad Achaeans; and he took the scale-yard by the midst and lifted it, and the Achaeans' day of destiny sank down" (Leaf). The idea is repeated in II. XXII. 209—212, with reference to the contest between Achilles and Hector, and imitated by Vergil, *Æn.* XII. 725—727, with reference to Æneas and Turnus.

M. does not borrow without adding or varying, and we may note the fresh turns which he has given to Homer's notion: (1) he identifies the Scales with the sign of the Zodiac called *Libra* = 'the Balance'—a poetic fancy which gives at once a certain reality to the fiction of the Scales and a new association and interest to *Libra* itself; (2) he represents the

Scales as those with which the Almighty measured out the Universe and its elements—and this, by adding to the importance of the Scales, heightens our sense of the greatness of Satan whose fate is weighed in them, and increases the grandeur of the whole scene.

M. had referred to the Scales—*Lances Fatorum*—in his Latin poem *Naturam non Pati Senium*, 34. 35. Pope employs them with fine mock-heroic effect in *The Rape of the Lock*, 711–712.

997, 998. *yet, still.* *Astræa*; the constellation Virgo. *the sign*, i.e. of the Zodiac.

999–1001. Cf. *Isaiah* xl. 12, "Who hath measured the waters... meted out heaven... weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance"; also *Job* xxviii. 25, xxxvii. 16 (Newton).

1000. *pendulous*, hanging in chaos; cf. "This pendent world," 11. 1052. Lat. *pendulus*, hanging.

1001. *ponders*, weighs; see G.

1002, 1003. Note again how M. varies the classical idea: (1) he does not weigh Satan against Gabriel, as Homer weighed the Greeks against the Trojans, Hector against Achilles, or Vergil Turnus against Æneas: only Satan himself is weighed. The one weight represents the *consequence* (= "sequel") to Satan of fighting, the other the *consequence* of departing: the scale containing the weight that symbolises fighting shows, by its ascent, that Satan's chance of success is light—weighed and found wanting: i.e. that the result of departing will be better for him. (2) In Homer and Vergil the *descent* of the scale, since it is weighted with death, is the evil sign: The English use of the image is exactly the reverse—*ascent* typifying worthlessness and its consequences.

1004. *beam*, the cross-piece from which the scales of a balance are suspended. To "kick (or 'strike') the beam" means that one scale immediately ascends as far as it can, being greatly outweighed by the other: hence the figurative application of the phrase to "things of little weight."

1008. *since then*, i.e. *can do*.

1010. "To tread them down like the mire of the streets." *Isa.* x. 6.

1013. *known*, recognised.

1014. *nor more*, i.e. *nor said more*. This omission of verbs of saying is common in Vergil, whose influence on M. was so great.

1015. The next four books, dealing with events that preceded the creation of man, mark a pause in the action of the poem; it is not resumed at the point where it here breaks off with Satan's flight until ix. 48–69.

fled the shades of night. The action of the next book begins at day-break.

APPENDIX

THE COSMOLOGY OF *PARADISE LOST*.

PARTS of *Paradise Lost* are not easily understood without some knowledge of Milton's conception of the Universe. I shall attempt therefore to set forth some of the main aspects of his cosmology: to explain, in fact, what he means by constantly recurrent terms such as 'Empyrean,' 'Chaos,' 'Spheres,' and the like.

It is in Book v. that he carries us back farthest in respect of time. The events described by Raphael (from line 563, onwards) precede not only the Creation of the World, but also the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. And at this era, when the seeds of discord are being sown, we hear of two divisions of Space—Heaven and Chaos (v. 577, 578): Heaven lying above Chaos.

In Book vi. the contest foreshadowed in Book v. has begun. Now a third region is mentioned—Hell (vi. 53—55). a gloomy region carved out of the nethermost depths of Chaos. Its remoteness from Heaven may be inferred from i. 73, 74. Milton's working hypothesis, then—his general conception of space and its partitionment prior to the Creation—may be expressed roughly thus: Above, Heaven; beneath, Hell; between, a great gulf, Chaos.

Let us see what he has to say concerning each.

Heaven, or the Empyrean, is the abode of the Deity and His angelic subjects. It is a vast region, but not infinite. In x. 380 Milton speaks of its "empyrean bounds"; in ii. 1449 of its "battlements"; in vi. 860 of its "crystal wall."

¹ i.e. from the point of view of this World, the position of which we shall see.

² The terms are synonymous. *Empyrean* = Lat. *empyreus*, from Gk *ἐμπερος*. The notion was that the Empyrean was formed of the element of fire (πῦρ).

³ Cf. Lucian *Macrobæia* *mania mundi* (i. 74) and Gray's "flaming bounds of Space" (*Poems of Pope*).

These fence Heaven in from Chaos. When Satan voyages through space, in quest of the new-created World, he kens far off the crystal line of light that radiates from the empyreal bulwarks, marking where wins the severance betwixt Heaven and Chaos (II. 1034 *et seq.*). In the wall of Heaven are the "everlasting doors" opening on to Chaos (V. 253—256, VII. 205—209). The shape of Heaven Milton does not determine (II. 1048); perhaps it is a square (X. 381). Its internal configuration and appearance he describes in language which reminds us of some lines (574—576) in Book v. May not the Earth, says Raphael, be "but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought"? Milton expands this idea, and developing to the utmost the symbolical, objective presentment of the New Jerusalem in the *Revelation*, depicts a Heaven scarce distinguishable from an ideal Earth¹. In fact, his Heaven and his Garden of Eden have much in common; so that Satan exclaims, "O Earth, how like to Heaven!" (IX. 99). Thus the Heavenly landscape (if I may describe it in Miltonic language) has its vales, wood-covered heights and plains (VI. 70, 640—646); it is watered by living streams (V. 652); and fair with trees and flowers²—immortal amaranth and celestial roses (III. 353—364), and vines (V. 635). Daylight and twilight are known there (V. 627—629, 645, VI. 2—15). And soft winds fan the angels as they sleep (V. 654, 655).

The inhabitants of Heaven.

These angelic beings, divided, according to tradition (see p. 122), into nine Orders, each with particular duties, perform their ministries and solemn rites (VII. 149) in the courts of God (V. 650) and at the high temple of Heaven (VII. 148). Their worship is offered under forms which recall, now the ritual of the Temple-services of Israel, now the inspired visions of St John. They celebrate the Deity who dwells invisible, throned inaccessible (III. 377) on the holy mount (VI. 5), howbeit omnipresent, as omnipotent, throughout Heaven and all space: round whose throne there rests a radiance of excessive brightness, at which even Seraphim, highest of Hierarchies, veil their eyes (III. 375—382).

It has been objected that Milton's picture is too material. But he himself takes special pains to remind us that the external imagery under which he represents his concepts is symbolical, not literal—

¹ The Earth deteriorates after the fall of man (X. 651 *et seq.*).

² This is a descriptive detail most conspicuous in early Christian apocalyptic works; see next page.

adopted merely as a means of conveying *some* impression of that which is intrinsically indescribable. The truth, I believe, is that he has applied to Heaven the descriptions of 'Paradise' in the apocalyptic literature of the first centuries of Christianity. The *Revelation of Peter* (dating perhaps from early in the second century A.D.) affords an illustration of these descriptions. St Peter is represented as asking our Lord where are the souls of the righteous dead—"of what sort is the world wherein they are and possess glory? And the Lord shewed ~~him~~ [me] a very great space outside this world shining excessively with light, and the air that was ~~there~~ illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit: and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us¹ from thence. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of angels of light, and their raiment was like their land: and angels encircled them²."

His picture of Heaven traditional.

The second region, for which Chaos seems the simplest title, is also variously called "the wasteful Deep" (II. 961, VI. 862), "the utter Deep" (VI. 716), and "the Abyss" (I. 21, VII. 211, 234). Here rules the god of Chaos and his consort Night (II. 959-963). According to the long description in Book II. 890 *et seq.*,³ this region is an illimitable ocean, composed of the embryon atoms whereof all substances may be formed—whereof Hell and the World are afterwards formed. It is a vast agglomeration of matter in its primal state, "neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire." Here prevails eternal anarchy of storm and wind and wave and stunning sounds. In VII. 210-214 the Messiah and His host stand at the open gate of Heaven and look forth on to Chaos; and what they behold is an Abyss "Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild."

¹ i.e. St Peter and the other disciples who are with our Lord on the Mount of Olives. See *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (Cambridge University Press ed., 1892), pp. 48, 49.

² Mr James (whose version I have just quoted) gives a similar passage from a rather later work, the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, wherein the Paradise of the just is revealed in a vision as "a plain of vast extent, flourishing with fair and very sweet-smelling flowers, where he saw plants of all manner of kinds, loaded with strange and wondrous fruits, most pleasant to the eye and desirable to touch. And the leaves of the trees made clear music to a soft breeze and sent forth a delicate fragrance, whereof none could tire. And through this wondrous and vast plain [he passed] to a city which gleamed with an unspeakable brightness and had its walls of translucent gold, and its battlements of stones the like of which none has ever seen. And a light from above filled all the streets thereof: and certain winged hosts, each to itself a light, abode there singing in melodies never heard by mortal ears."

The creation of Hell, we may perhaps assume, just precedes the *Description of* fall of the angels¹. It has been prepared for their punishment when, after the proclamation in v. 600—615, they have revealed their rebellious spirit. To form Hell a part of the Abyss has been taken. In II. 1002 Chaos complains that his realm has been encroached upon by Hell—"stretching far and wide beneath." Round it runs a wall of fire (I. 61); overhead spreads a fiery vault or cope (I. 298, 345). At the descent of the angels Hell lies open to receive them (VI. 53—55); then the roof closes (VI. 875), and they are prisoners. Henceforth the only outlet from Hell into Chaos is through certain gates, the charge whereof is assigned to Sin (II. 643 *et seq.*). At her side, as protector, stands Death, ready with his dart to meet all comers (II. 833—855). To please Satan (her sire), Sin opens the gates. Afterwards she cannot shut them; and all who will may pass to and fro between Hell and Chaos. Later on (when the bridge from Hell has been made) this change becomes terribly significant. For the inside of Hell, we hear of a pool of fire (II. 52, 221); dry land that burns like fire (I. 227—229); and drear regions of excessive cold and heat, intersected by rivers (II. 575 *et seq.*). Here again the picture is traditional, owing, no doubt, much to Dante, who in turn owed much to the apocalyptic descriptions before mentioned.

Immediately after the expulsion of Satan the World is created *Description of* (VII. 131 *et seq.*). By "the World" is meant the whole Universe of Earth, seas, stellar bodies and the framework wherein they are set—in short, all that the eye of man beholds. The Son of God goes forth into the Abyss (VII. 218 *et seq.*), and with golden compass marks out the limits of this World; so that Chaos is again despoiled of part of his realm (as he laments in *Hung in* II. 1001—1006). The new World is a globe or hollow *Chaos.* sphere, suspended in the Abyss, and at its topmost point fastened by a golden chain (see II. 1057, note) to Heaven. In II. 1004—1006 Chaos tells Satan of this Universe:

"Another world,
Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain
To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell."
The length of this chain, i.e. the distance of the World from the

¹ Cf. the English *Faust-book* (1592) where Faustus asks when Hell was made and Mephistophilis replies—"Faustus, thou shalt know, that before the fall of my lord Lucifer was his Hell, but even then was hell ordained" (1 *book English Prose Romances*, III. 185).

Empyrean, is not stated, I believe; but the distance was not—comparatively—very great (II. 1051—1053, VII. 618).

Also, between the globe (again, on its upper side, i.e. that nearest to the Empyrean) and the gate of Heaven there stretches a golden stair, used by good angels for descent and ascent when they are despatched to Earth on any duty such as that which Raphael discharges in Books V.—VIII. This stair (suggested by Jacob's dream?) is not always let down (III. 501—518). And hard by the point where the golden stair touches the surface of the globe there is—~~at~~ later times, after the fall of man—another stair (or rather bridge), which leads, not upward to the Empyrean, but downward to Hell: i.e. it extends over the portion of Chaos that intervenes between Hell and the World (II. 1024—1033, *Joined to Heaven.* X. 282 *et seq.*). This bridge¹, the work of Sin and Death, is used by evil angels when they would come from Hell (its gates being open) to Earth—"to tempt or punish mortals" (II. 1033). *Joined to Hell.*

Hence a good angel and an evil, visiting mankind simultaneously, the one descending the golden stair, the other ascending the bridge, will meet at this point of the surface of the globe. And to enter the globe, i.e. to get through its outer surface to the inside, each must pass through the same aperture in the surface, and descend by the same passage into the interior: as Milton explains in Book III. There he describes how Satan journeys through Chaos, till he reaches and walks² on the outer surface of the World (III. 418—430). But how to pass to the interior? The surface is impenetrable, and there seems to be no inlet. Then suddenly the reflection of the golden stair which chanced to be let down directs his steps to the point where the stair and the bridge come into contact with the globe, and here he finds what he seeks—an aperture in the surface by which he can look down into the interior. Further, there is at this aperture a broad passage plunging right down into the World—being, really, a continuation of the golden stair. Thus Satan, standing on the bottom *The entrance into the World.* step of the stair, and looking straight up, sees overhead

¹ In the English *Faust-book*, 1592 (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 194), Mephistophiles says: "We have also with us in hell a ladder, reaching of exceeding height, as though the top of the same would touch the heaven, to which the damned ascend to seek the blessing of God, but through their infidelity, when they are at very highest degree, they fall down again into their former miseries." With the last part of this extract cf. *P. L.* III. 424 *et seq.* It seems to me highly probable that Milton studied the *Faust-book* (which was immensely popular), as well as Marlowe's dramatic adaptation of it: see III. 506, note.

² i.e. like a fly moving up a lamp-globe (Masson).

the gate of Heaven; and looking straight down, sees the interior of the globe, leagues beneath (III. 526 *et seq.*).

Similarly on the seventh day of the Creation the angels, gazing from Heaven's gate down the stair and down the broad passage which continues the stair, see, as Satan did, into the new-made World (VII. 617—619):

“not far, founded in view

On the clear hyaline, the “glassy sea”¹.

In short, at the point in the surface of the globe nearest to the Empyrean, there is a choice of ways: the stair leading to Heaven; the bridge to Hell; and the broad passage to the interior of the World:

“in little space

The confines met of empyrean Heaven,

And of this World; and, on the left hand, Hell

With long reach interposed; three several ways,

In sight, to each of these three places led².”

And descending the broad passage what would an angel find in the interior of the globe? What is this globe as Milton, following the astronomy of his³ time, has described it?

The globe as then conceived may best be likened (in Plato's comparison⁴) to one of those puzzles or boxes in which are contained a number of boxes of gradually lessening size: remove the first, and you shall find another inside, rather smaller: remove the second, and you shall come on a third, still smaller: and so on, till you reach the centre—the kernel, as it were, round which the different boxes were but successive shells. Now, of the globe of the World the Earth (they said) is the kernel (is it not often called ‘the centre’⁵); and—a stationary body itself—it is encased by numerous shells or Spheres: the number of the Spheres being a subject of dispute and varying in the different astronomical systems. Milton, accepting⁶ for the purposes of his epic the Ptolemaic

The globe of the World: its interior.

Milton's astronomy.

¹ i.e. the Crystalline Sphere.

² x 320—324

³ I do not mean to imply that the Ptolemaic system was still generally believed in at the time when *P. L.* was published, but that it satisfied Elizabethan writers of whom Milton was the last.

⁴ See the Myth of Er in the *Republic* 616, 617; and the note on *Arcades* 64 (Pitt Press ed. p. 59), where the passage is translated.

⁵ Cf. perhaps i. 686; and certainly the *Winter's Tale* II. i. 102, *Trifles* I. 3, 35.

⁶ He was evidently familiar with the Copernican system (cf. IV. 592—597, VII. 15—178); and the question has been asked why he did not follow it in the poem. The answer surely is obvious. The Copernican theory was new, without a scrap of

system as expanded by the astronomer Alphonsus X. of Castille, recognizes ten Spheres. A Sphere, it should be noted, is merely a circular region of space—not necessarily of solid matter. Indeed, of the ten Spheres only one, the *Primum Mobile*, appears in Milton's description to consist of some material substance. Seven of them are the Spheres of the planets, i.e. the orbits in which the planets severally move.

The order of the Spheres, which fit one within the other¹, is, if we start from the Earth as the stationary centre² of the Universe, as follows: first, the Spheres of the planets successively—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; then, outside the last of these (i.e. Saturn), the Firmament or *Cælum Stellatum*, in which are set the 'fixed stars'; then, outside the Firmament, the Crystalline Sphere; and last, the *Primum Mobile* enclosing all the others. Compare the famous lines (481—483) in Book III. describing the passage of the souls of the departed from Earth to Heaven:

"They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that first moved."

It remains to note three or four points in these lines. Milton treats the Sun and Moon as planets (v. 177, x. 651—658). Compare Shakespeare, *Troilus*, I. 3. 89, "the glorious planet Sol," and *Antony*, v. 2. 241, "the fleeting Moon no planet is of mine." The 'fixed stars' are referred to four times in the poem—but only once (v. 176) with the word 'star' added; in the other places (III. 481, v. 621, x. 661) they are called simply 'the fixed.' Though they are unmoved, their Sphere revolves round the Earth, moving from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty-four hours, and carrying with it the seven inner Spheres³. The rapid motion of this Sphere is glanced at in v. 176 ("their orb⁴ that flies"). The Crystalline Sphere and the *Primum*

literary association and with no poetic terminology: whereas the Ptolemaic view and its delightful fictions as to the Spheres, their harmonies, and the like, had become a tradition of literature, expressed in terms that recalled Marlowe and Shakespeare and Jonson and the *sacri vates* of English verse.⁵ To have surrendered this poetic heritage merely out of deference to science had been impossible pedantry—a perverse concession to the cold philosophy that "empties the haunted air and r-weaves the rainbow" (*Lamia*).

¹ Cf. Marlowe's *Ramus* vi. 38, 39:

"As are the elements, such are the spheres,
Mutually folded in each other's orb."

² Cf. viii. 32: "the sedentary Earth;" and see ix. 107—109.

³ These have separate motions of their own, variously accounted for (viii. 82—84).
⁴ 'Orb' and 'Sphere' are interchangeable terms—when it suits Milton.

Mobile were not included in the original Ptolemaic system. They were added later, to explain certain phenomena which the earlier astronomers had not observed, and for which their theories offered no explanation. Thus the supposed swaying or "trepidation" of the Crystalline Sphere was held to be the cause of the precession of the equinoxes. This Sphere is described as a vast expanse of waters. It encircles the eight inner Spheres. The original notion may perhaps be traced to the waters "above the firmament" mentioned in *Genesis* i. 7. Compare the picture in VII. 270—271 of

"the World
Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Crystalline ocean."

The main purpose that this "ocean" serves is to protect the Earth from the evil "influences" of Chaos: those "fierce extremes" of temperature which might penetrate through the outside shell (the Primum Mobile) and "distemper" the whole fabric of the Universe, did not this wall of waters interpose (VII. 271—273).

Last comes the Primum Mobile¹, "the first² convex" of the World, i.e. the outside case of our box or puzzle. It is made, as we saw, of hard matter; but for its crust of substance Chaos would break in on the World, and Darkness make inroads (III. 419—421). The first moved itself, it communicates motion to the nine inner Spheres. In Elizabethan literature allusions to it are not infrequent: we will conclude by giving three. Compare Spenser, *Hymns of Heavenly Beautie*:

"these heavens still by degrees arise,
Until they come to their first Movers bound,
That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,
And carry all the rest with him around;"

and Marlowe, *Faustus*³:

"He views the clouds, and planets, and the stars,
The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
From the bright circle of the horned moon
Even to the height of Primum Mobile;"

and Bacon, *Of Seditions and Troubles*: "for the motions of the greatest

¹ Dante's *primo giro* (*Purgatorio* 1. 15)

² III. 419. To Satan coming from Chaos it is the first; in our calculation, as we started from the Earth, it is the last.

³ Scene vii. *chorus*, ll. 5—18, in the third Quarto, 1616; the passage is not in the two earlier editions of 1604 and 1609 (Ward, p. 178).

persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under Primum Mobile."

B,

ON THE CHARACTER OF MILTON'S SATAN.

I have reserved for this *Appendix* notice of some points in Milton's delineation of the character of Satan. First, as to the rank which Milton assigns to him before his revolt, and the cause of that revolt. Milton speaks of Satan as an archangel¹—*Satan's rank in Heaven.* "if not the first archangel" (v. 660): that is, he is inclined to give Satan preeminence over all angelic beings. But this preeminence is not emphasised so much as we might have expected.

The immediate cause of the rebellion in Heaven is the proclamation that all should worship the Messiah as their Head (v. 600—615). Satan resents the command, conceiving himself "impaired" (v. 665) thereby; and he makes its pretended injustice *The motive of his revolt.* a means of drawing away a third part of the angels from their allegiance. They are equal, he says, to the Messiah: self-begotten, not created: not liable to pay worship; and so, playing on their pride, he wins them to his side (v. 772—802, 853—866). Meantime, in his own heart an even stronger motive is at work; to wit, ambition to be himself equal to the Deity—nay, superior. He not only disclaims submission to the Son: he strives "against the throne and monarchy" (l. 42) of the Almighty Himself; and it is as the foe rather of the Father than of the Son that the great archangel is set before us in *Paradise Lost*.

Touching both matters there was much tradition, whereof it may be interesting to cite two or three illustrations from popular works² with which Milton is likely to have been familiar. To take, for example, the English *Faust-book*: Faustus *Popular beliefs concerning Satan:* asks: "But how came lord and master Lucifer³ to have so great a fall from Heaven? Mephistophiles answered, My lord Lucifer

¹ Contrast the first extract from the *Faust-book*, later on.

² I choose three works each of which may, I think, be regarded as a *résumé* of many of the current traditions of demonology. Two of the books—the *Faust-book*, 1599, and Scot's *Discourse*, 1584—were extremely popular, and personally I believe that Milton had studied both. Scot devotes several chapters to "Lucifer and his fall." The third work—Heywood's *Hierarchy*, 1635—is very serviceable to an editor of *Paradise Lost*.

³ Milton identifies Lucifer and Satap.

was a fair angel, created of God as immortal, and being placed in the Seraphims¹, which are above the Cherubims, he would have presumed upon the Throne of God...upon this presumption the Lord cast him down headlong, and where (i.e. whereas) before he was an angel of light, now dwells in darkness²."

Later on Faustus returns to the subject, enquiring "in what estimation his lord Lucifer was, when he was in favour with God:" also touching his form and shape: to which Mephistophiles replies, "My lord Lucifer...was at the first an angel of God, yea he was so of God ordained for shape, pomp, authority, worthiness, and dwelling, that he far exceeded all the other creatures of God, and so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars...but when he began to be high minded, proud and so presumptuous, that he would usurp the seat of God's Majesty, then was he banished³."

The *Faust-book*, it will be seen, agrees with Milton on both points; while, as regard; one of them—Satan's rank—it is more explicit than in Heywood's *Paradise Lost*. Equally explicit is Heywood's *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* (1635). There (p. 336) we read that of the angels Lucifer was first-created and chief:

"As he might challenge a priority
In his Creation, so about the rest
A supereminence, as first and best."

Heywood mentions Michael, Raphaël, and Gabriel, and adds (p. 337) that great as they were,

"Yet about these was Lucifer instated,
Honor'd, exalted, and much celebrat'd."

Reginald Scot goes even further, remarking⁴ that according to the teaching of some divines Satan even after his fall exceeded in power any of the angelic host. It seems to me therefore something strange that Milton did not unequivocally invest Satan with superiority over all the angels.

As to Satan's motive Heywood⁵ differs from Milton, making jealousy of mankind the cause; while Scot writes⁶: "Our schoolmen differ much in the cause of *Lucifer's* fall [some alleging one thing, some another, while] others saie, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for that he

¹ The highest of the Hierarchies, see v. 587. We may note the forms 'Seraphims,' 'Cherubims,' see G. under 'Cherubim.'

² Thoms' *English Prose Romances*. 2nd ed. III. 184.

³ Thoms, III. 187.

⁴ Nicholson's ed. p. 425.

⁵ p. 339.

⁶ p. 423.

challenged the place of the Messias." This accords more with *Paradise Lost* v. 661—665.

For Milton Satan is the type of pride. The type was already fixed. As an epithet of Lucifer 'proud' had passed into a proverb. Thus Gower said¹:

Satan a type of pride: in earlier writers;

• For Lucifer with him that felle

Bar pride with him into helle.

There was pride of to grete cost

Whan he for pride hath heaven lost;"

and Marlowe²:

"Faust. How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?

Meph. O, by aspiring pride and insolence;

For which God threw him from the face of heaven;"

and Greene³:

"proud Lucifer fell from the heavens.

Lucifer and his proud-hearted friends

Were thrown into the centre of the earth."

Milton therefore did not wholly conceive or create the character of the arch-rebel. Tradition, literary no less than theological, prescribed the dominant idea in that nature: *in Milton.* enough if Milton developed the idea in harmony with the design of his poem. This he did. He depicts Satan as an embodiment of the spirit of pride and ambition; not the ambition which is an honourable desire of praise—that last infirmity of noble minds—but the fevered lust for power which springs from overmastering self-esteem. In Satan this spirit of egotism is the poison that permeates his whole being, vanquishing and vitiating all that is good in him.

For at the outset of the action of *Paradise Lost* Satan has much that is noble and attractive in his nature. To have made him, wholly evil had repelled, and lessened the interest of the poem, which turns, in no slight degree, on the struggle between the good and evil elements in him. Indeed, this very pride is not without its good aspect. Herein lies the motive power that nerves him at every crisis to face insuperable difficulties; to cherish immortal hope—though hope of revenge; and to adventure "high attempts."

Complexity of Satan's character.

¹ *Confessio Amantis*, book 1.

² *Faustus* III. 67—69.

³ *Fried Bacon* IX. 59, 65, 66.

⁴ Cf. Satan's own words in IV. 40.

On the other hand, it is this same spirit that drives him onward to his final fall. If at any moment he is minded to repent *His pride bars repentance.* and submit—through pity for the friends whom he has ruined, or mankind whom he schemes to ruin, or himself—through sense of his ingratitude (iv. 42–45) towards the Almighty—whatever the motive—relentless, resistless egotism sweeps aside compunction, and denies him retreat. To sue for grace were to humble himself in the eyes of his followers and in his own: which must not be (iv. 79–83).

Steadily does Milton keep this idea before us. There is no possibility of missing or mistaking his intention. The very word ‘pride’ recurs¹ like some persistent refrain, ringing clearest at the great crises, the fateful moments when the action of the epic enters on a fresh stage: as when in the fourth Book (ll. 27 *et seq.*) Satan looks down upon Eden from his resting-place on mount Niphates, and a brief while is inclined to give up his attempt and seek re-admission into Heaven; or as when in the ninth Book (ll. 455–472) he sees Eve in the Garden and is touched by her beauty and innocence, and disarmed of his ill thoughts. Always, however, the end is the same: “the hot hell” of pride in his heart breaks anew into flame; and he goes forward to his work². Had not pride led him to undertake it?

Satan’s resolve to compass the fall of man is prompted by several feelings—each a phase of self-esteem. There is jealousy. *Satan’s motives for tempting mankind.* Man has usurped his place—dispossessed him and his followers. At sight of Adam and Eve he exclaims (iv. 359–360):

“Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps!”

The same feeling finds expression in almost the same words later on (ix. 148, 149). That others should receive favour from the Almighty—and, as he thinks, at his expense—wounds his pride.

Again, there is desire to assert his supremacy by undertaking an office from which the mightiest of his followers recoil in fear. Nowhere does Satan stand forth so eminent and sublime “with monarchical pride” as in the scene in the second Book where he proffers himself for the great enterprise. The counsel of Beelzebub has been applauded by all (ll. 386–389): but who will carry it out? None dare: and then

¹ Cf. i. 36, 58, 527, 572, 603—with many other examples.

² Cf. Mr Stopford Brooke’s admirable *Study of Milton*, p. 148.

Satan, proclaiming his feadiness, once more confirms his sovereignty. Here too pride has ruled.

But the strongest motive remains: desire

"To wreak on innocent frail man his loss

Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell¹."

"To spite the great Creator" (II. 385) he will bring ruin on the earth and its inhabitants: which, if not victory, were revenge. The notion flatters his self-conceit. It is born of the old pride. And Milton dwells on it with fitting insistence².

Is Satan the 'hero' of *Paradise Lost*? We might think so did we not read beyond the first books. But to trace his history in the poem to its inglorious close is to dispel the impression. Milton can scarcely intend that we should regard as 'hero'—as worthy of sustained admiration—one

*Satan not the
'hero' of the
poem.*

who passes from the splendour of archangelic being to the state of a loathsome reptile³. The hideous metamorphosis in X. 504—532 is the necessary contrast to those scenes at the beginning of the epic in which the great rebel does appear in heroic grandeur: and we must look on both pictures. If *Paradise Lost* narrates the fall of man, it narrates too—and no less clearly—the fall of man's tempter. The self-degradation of Satan is complete: outward and inward: of the form and of the spirit: a change—ever for the worse—of shape and mind and emotion.

*His self-de-
basement and
decline:*

There is the outward sign. Before his expulsion he is preeminently a lustrous being, clothed with ethereal radiance and glory—so much does his name "Lucifer" argue⁴. And afterwards he retains something of this "original brightness" (I. 592): howbeit much has passed from him (I. 97, 591—594). But gradually what was left decreases in proportion as the evil in him prevails: so that Unel perceives the foul passions that dim his face (IV. 124—130); while Gabriel marks his "faded splendour wan" (IV. 870), and the Cherub Zephon taunts him therewith (IV. 835—840). Equal is his loss of physical force. On the fields of Heaven he does not

in form;

*in physical
power;*

fear to meet Michael in combat (VI. 246 *et seq.*): in the Garden of Eden he doubts himself a match for Adam:

"Foe not formidable! exempt from wound,

¹ IV. 11, 12.

² Cf. VI. 905, 906.

³ Cf. his words in IX. 163—171.

⁴ Cf. VII. 131—133, and the second extract from the *Faust-book*, and Marlowe, "beautiful As was bright Lucifer before his fall" (*Faustus* v. 155).

I not; so much hath Hell debased, and pain¹
 'Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven."

In fact, he is glad that he has to deal with the woman—not the man (IX. 480—488).

Nor this because of lost strength alone. He shuns the "higher intellectual" of Adam (IX. 483), who would be better able than Eve to see through his arguments and so resist temptation. He *in intellect*; is conscious of his own decline in intellect. The strong intelligence which inspires his speeches in the first two books has degenerated, by perverse use, into mere sophistical slyness, a base cunning—even as wine may lose its savour and turn to vinegar. He is no more the mighty-minded archangel: he is naught but the serpent—"subtlest beast of all the field." Lastly, every impulse *in moral instinct* in him towards good has died out. The element of nobility that redeemed his character at the outset from absolute baseness has been killed. In evil he moves and has his being, so that himself confesses "all good to me becomes bane," and in destroying lies his sole delight (IX. 118 *et seq.*).

Hardly therefore shall we believe that Milton meant us to see in the fallen and everfalling archangel the hero of *Paradise Lost*. It is an 'epic without a hero:' or if there be one, Adam is he: for in him suffering has wrought a purification that promises nobler things to come.

C.

MILTON'S BLINDNESS.

"But thou

Revisit st not these eyes, that roll in pain

So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs,

"Or dim suffusion veiled."

"Drop serene" is a literal rendering of *gutta serena*, the technical Latin term for "complete amaurosis," i.e. amaurosis or disease of the optic nerve in its worst form. It involves total blindness. "Suffusion" (Greek *ὑπόχυμα*, Latin *suffusio*) was also a technical term, employed then by medical writers to denote imperfection or loss of sight in general, whether caused by cataract or by affection of the nervous structure. Blindness of the latter type is sometimes called *suffusio nigra*.

¹ See I. 35, VI. 327, notes.

Milton's blindness was probably due to amaurosis, since that disease commonly makes no external change in the eye. Thus he says in the *Second Defence*, "so little do they [his eyes] betray any external appearance of injury, that they are as unclouded and bright as the eyes of those who see most distinctly" (*P. W.* I. 235).

Cf. also his second *Sonnet* to Cyriack Skinner:

"Cyriack, this three years day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot."

Milton undoubtedly believed that his loss of physical eyesight was compensated by increased spiritual illumination:

"So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate."

With these lines we may compare a sentence in one of his letters: "why should I not submit with complacency to this loss of sight, which seems only withdrawn from the body without, to increase the sight of the mind within?" (*P. W.* III. 513). He writes to the same effect in the *Second Defence*: "in that obscurity, in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines...in proportion as I am blind, I shall see more clearly. O! that I may thus be perfected by feebleness, and irradiated by obscurity" (*P. W.* I. 239). Cf. *Samson Agonistes*, 162, 163 and 1687—1689.

One of the finest allusions in literature to Milton's affliction is in Gray's lines on him in *The Progress of Poesy*; as the third couplet of them contains a reference to *Paradise Lost*, III. 381, 382, they may not inappropriately be cited here:

"Nor second He, that rode sublime
Upon the seraph-wings of Extasy,
The secrets of th' Abyss to spy,

He pass'd the flaming bounds of Place and Time:
The living Throne, the sapphire blaze,
Where Angels tremble, while they gaze,
He saw; but, blasted with excess of light,
Clos'd his eyes in endless night."

D.

THE ORDERS OF THE HEAVENLY BEINGS.

According to a mediæval belief the Heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Choirs. These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (θρόνοι), forming the first Hierarchy; Dominations (κυριότητες), Virtues (δυνάμεις), and Powers (ἐξουσίαι), forming the second; Principalities (ἀρχαί), Archangels and Angels, forming the third. This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes.* i. 21 and *Coloe.* i. 16. First formulated in the treatise *περὶ τῆς οὐρανόθεν ιεραρχίας*, which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius, the Areopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, xxviii. 98—126. Allusions to it are frequent in Elizabethan writers. Works from which many illustrations of the system might be quoted are:—*Batman upon Bartholome* (1582), Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), the *Faust-book* (1592), Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* (1596), Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, i. 28, and Heywood's *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* (1635), which deals with the subject at great length.

Milton accepted¹ the tradition and made it the basis of the whole angelical system of *Paradise Lost*.

Each of the Orders possessed some special quality. The Seraphim were the "burning" lustrous beings; cf. Spenser, *Heavenly Beautie*:

"those eternall burning Seraphins,

Which from their faces dart out fierie light."

This conception, due probably to the false derivation of *Seraphim* from a root signifying 'to burn,' determines Milton's choice of epithets for this Order of the Hierarchies. See *Seraphim* in the *Glossary*.

The Cherubim had a wondrous power of vision: hence their main duty in *Paradise Lost* is to keep watch. See iv. 778, note. And through this power of vision they enjoyed in a peculiar degree the *Visio Beatifica* or faculty of "contemplating" the Deity. In the words of the treatise *περὶ τῆς ιεραρχίας* they were distinguished διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖν

¹ Thus in *Church Government* he says, "the angels themselves are distinguished into their celestial principdoms and satrapies," *P.* *¶* v. ii. 442. He several times uses the special terms "Orders" and "Hierarchies"—cf. *P. L.* i. 737, v. 587, 592, vii. 192; while the titles "Seraphim," "Thrones," "Dominations," "Virtues" etc. occur constantly.

αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρητικόν. And this notion is the key to that line (54) in *Il Penseroso*, the point of which has been so much misunderstood—"The Cherub Contemplation."

The archangels were, as their name implied, the "chief messengers" of the Almighty and the intermediaries between him and Man. Cf. Reginald Scot, "As for archangels, they are sent onlie about great and secret matters"; and Heywood, "The Archangels are Embassadors, great matters to declare." Hence Milton makes Raphael in book v. and Michael in books xi., xii.—each one of the seven archangels referred to in III. 648—653, the bearers of messages and charges from the Almighty to Adam.

One other point in which Milton follows mediæval tradition with regard to the Heavenly beings may be noticed. Descriptions like those in book III., ll. 625—628 and 636—642, are purely traditional. We must compare them with the presentment of angels in works of early Christian art. Poets and painters alike drew upon religious tradition and expressed it by certain conventional details. And this presentment of angelic beings contained a considerable element of symbolism. In *Ratman upon Bartholome* II. iii., iv., there is a long discourse on the attributes which painters assign to angels and on their symbolical significance. The following brief extracts from it illustrate Milton's pictures of Uriel (III. 625—628) and the "stripling Cherub" (III. 636—642): "When Angels are paynted with long lockes and crispe haire, thereby is understoode their cleane affections and ordinate thoughts. For the hayre of the head betokeneth thoughts and affections that doe spring out of the roote of thought and minde... And they be painted beardless: for to take consideration and heede, that they passe never the state of youth, neyther waxe feeble in vertues, neither faile for age... Truly they be paynted feathered and winged.. [as a sign that] they be lifted up in effect and knowledge, and rauished to the innermost contemplation of the loue of God."

F.

PARADISE LOST, III. 431—439

The geography of this passage has been criticised adversely on the assumption that "Imaus" must mean the Himálayas. A bird flying from the Himálayas to the sources of the Ganges would not pass over any part of 'Sericana,' by which, probably, the north-west angle of the

Chinese Empire was signified. Masson, to meet the supposed difficulty, argues that the vulture is not said to start from Imaus: it is only "bred" there. But I think that Milton does mean us to regard Imaus as the starting point of the bird's flight.

"Imaus," however, need not mean the Himálayas in this passage. True, the earlier classical geographers applied "Imaus" to the Himálayas (the names being cognate); but in Ptolemy and later writers the name is transferred to the great chain of mountains, the Bolor range, which runs through Central Asia from North to South, dividing the Chinese Empire from Turkestan. And this later use of "Imaus" appears to have been that recognised by geographers of the 17th century. Perhaps the best known collection of maps issued in England between 1600 and 1650 was the English edition¹ of Mercator's *Atlas*. I have given elsewhere² my reasons for thinking that it was known to Milton.

Now, in Mercator's map of *Tartaria* there is marked a chain of mountains called "*Imaus Mons*." It extends, roughly speaking, from the north-eastern corner of the modern Afghanistan to the "Frozen Ocean," i.e. Arctic Ocean. Its course is due North and South. When Milton speaks of "Imaus" which bounds the "roving Tartars," he means, I doubt not, this "*Imaus Mons*" which is so conspicuous in Mercator's *Tartaria*. And any one who could consult this rare *Atlas* would perceive at once the accuracy of Milton's description. For the northern part of "*Imaus Mons*" does "bound" the Tartar, separating his country from Russia; and a vulture starting from this northern part and flying southward to the Ganges would pass over the north-west plains of the Chinese Empire. Judged therefore from the 17th century stand-point the geography of the passage is quite correct. Of course, very little was known then about Central Asia. Mercator frankly calls it "that vast and unknown region."

Allusions to the passage occur in the *Dunciad* III. 76, "He [the Emperor of China] whose long wall the wandering Tartar bounds," and in Thomson's *Autumn*:

"From Asian Taurus, from Imaus stretch'd
Athwart the roving Tartar's sullen bounds."

¹ Hexham's, 1636.

² *Lycidas*, Pitt Press ed., pp. 156, 157.

F.

PARADISE LOST, IV. 275—279.

The key to this passage, as Bishop Newton pointed out, is in Diodorus Siculus, III. 67—70. Diodorus relates various legends as to the birth of Dionysus or Bacchus; amongst them is the following.

There was a King of *Libya* named *Ammon*. He married *Rhea*, daughter of the god *Uranus*. By a maiden called *Amaltheia* he had a son. To save the mother and child from the jealousy of *Rhea*, Ammon gave *Amaltheia* an island *Nysa*, on the Mediterranean coast of *Libya*, not far from the modern *Tunis*. It was "girt with the river *Triton*" (περιεχομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριτωνος ποταμοῦ), and a spot of most singular beauty and fertility. Here the infant was brought up in a cave; and Ammon appointed the goddess *Athene* to guard him "against the plots of his step-mother *Rhea*" (πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ῥέας ἐπιβουλὰς). The child grew up, showed wonderful wisdom, and, having invented wine, became the god of wine. He was named "*Dionysus*" from *Nysa* his place of nurture.

This monarch *Ammon* is evidently a kind of deity, and Milton identifies him with the god whom the Greeks called *Zeus Ammon* and the Romans *Jupiter Ammon*, and who is commonly associated with the Egyptian sun-god *Amon Ra*. As in several other passages, Milton has followed Diodorus very closely, merely translating one or two sentences; cf. the references to "the river *Triton*" and "his step-dame *Rhea*."

Cham, of course, is identical with *Ham*, the name of Noah's son; cf. the Septuagint form of *Ham*, viz. Χάμ, and the Vulgate form, *Cham*. Probably Milton had some patristic authority for the identification of the Scriptural *Cham* or *Lum* with the "Gentile"¹ deity *Ammon*, also called *Hammon*²: an identification obviously due to the similarity of the names, and strengthened by the traditional account that Egypt was colonised by the descendants of *Ham*. Tennyson speaks of "the *Chamian* oracle divine," i.e. the shrine of *Cham*, meaning the famous temple of *Jupiter Ammon* in the heart of the Libyan desert.

¹ Note "Whom *Gentiles Ammon* call" (iv. 277), i.e. the Greeks and Romans; the implied antithesis between "Gentile" and Biblical shows that "*Cham*" in 276 refers to a Scriptural character, i.e. Noah's son.

² Cf. M. in the *Nativity Ode*, l. 23, "The *Libye Hammon* shrink his horn."

³ Cf. *Psalms* cv. 23, where Egypt is called "the land of *Ham*."

GLOSSARY.

Milton's diction is essentially Elizabethan: the diction of the Authorised Version (1611) of the Bible and of Shakespeare. *Paradise Lost*, therefore, though published in 1667, is best illustrated from the works of the generation contemporary with Shakespeare. Hence many of the illustrations in the *Glossary* and *Notes* are taken from the writers who may collectively and conveniently be described as Elizabethan.

A marked feature of Milton's diction, as of his style, is his classical bias. He employs many words in their classical sense, just as he employs many classical idioms and figures of speech. This classicism of diction is still more conspicuous in his prose, in which he introduces numbers of long, sonorous words derived from the Latin. Sometimes he invents such words. This *Glossary* contains several examples of his classical diction, e.g. *exorbitant*, *inarrupt*, *ponder*, *purple*, *seure*, *succinct*, *transverse*.

Another interesting feature is his partiality for Italianised forms. This is more conspicuous in his verse, perhaps because he felt so strongly, and wished his readers to be reminded of, the spell and fascination of the great Italian epics. By his own statement, he had studied Italian much before he went to Italy. His letters and prose-works reveal his love of it (I do not remember any interesting reference in his works to French literature); and several short poems testify to his very considerable mastery of the language. Instances of his leaning towards Italian are—*sdein*, *srenate*, *sovrain*; *azurn*, Ital. *azzurino* (*Comus*, 893), and *harald*, Ital. *araldo*, for *herald*—cf. *P. L.* 1. 752, 11. 518.

Abbreviations:—

A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, i.e. English down to about the Conquest.

Middle E. = Middle English, i.e. English from about the Conquest to about 1500.

Elizabethan E. = the English of Shakespeare and his contemporaries (down to about 1650).

O. F. = Old French, i.e. till about 1600. F. = modern French.

Germ. = modern German. Gk = Greek.

Ital. = modern Italian. Lat. = Latin.

The dates, of course, are only approximate: such divisions must be more or less arbitrary and open to criticism.

Abassin, IV. 280, Abyssinian. *Abyssinia* is from Arabic *Habesch*, 'mixture, confusion,' a name given to the country by the Arabs on account of the mixed character of its inhabitants. This Arabic word was Latinised by the Portuguese as *Abassê* and *Abássinos*, whence the present form. *Abassin* is nearer than *Abyssinian* to the Portuguese form. **abide**, IV. 87; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, III. 2. 119, "some will dear abide it," i.e. suffer for it. The metaphor is 'to await the consequences of a deed and so, in the end, to pay for it.' Probably *abide* in this sense has been influenced by, though etymologically quite distinct from, *aby*, 'to expiate, pay for' = A. S. intensive prefix *ā-* + *hyegan*, 'to buy.'

alarmed, IV. 985. F. *alarme* = Ital. *all' arme*, 'to arms!' (Lat. *ad illa arma*); so that properly an *alarm* was a summons to take up arms, i.e. prepare for battle. Here *alarmed* means that Satan was prepared for the fight—not that he was afraid.

alley, IV. 626, a garden-walk, especially one "with branches overgrown" (IV. 627). Cf. Shak. *Much Ado*, I. 2. 10, "a thick-pleached alley," i.e. thickly interwoven overhead; and Tennyson, *Ode to Memory*, "plaited alleys of the trailing rose." O. F. *alce*, F. *allée*.

aloof, III. 577; here used as a preposition = 'aloof from'; rare use, but cf. M. in *Doctrine of Divorce*, II. iv., "would fain work himself aloof these rocks and quicksands," *P. W.* III. 226.

amarant, III. 352, Gk *ἀμάραντος*, 'unfading'—the word used in *Pet.* v. 4 of the "crown of glory that fadeth not away"; from *ἀ-*, 'not' + *μαραινειν*, 'to fade, wither.' The flower typifies immortality. Note that M. writes the correct form; the more usual 'amaranth' is due to confusion with Gk *ἄνθος*, a flower.

ambrosial; used by M. of that which delights the sense of smell (III. 135) of taste (IV. 219). Strictly, *ἀμβροσία*, from *ἀμβρόσιος* (a lengthened form of *ἀμβροτος*, 'immortal') meant the food of the gods.

apply, IV. 264; commonly explained 'to practise, engage in' (cf. the abbreviated form *ply*); for this use, formerly not uncommon, cf. Fuller's *Worthies*, "That he might the more effectually apply his private devotions," *Works* (ed. 1840), III. 402. I believe, however, that the sense intended by M. is 'add,' and that the word was so interpreted by Collins and Thomson. Cf. *The Passions*, 49, 50:

"Dejected Pity at his side

Her soul-subduing voice applied";

and *The Seasons (Spring)*:

"The woodlands round
Applied their quire."

'To add' may come from the general sense of *apply* = 'to bring to bear upon' (cf. 'applying' & remedy); or M. may simply have imitated the rare use of Latin *applicare* = 'to add.'

areed, or **aread**, IV. 962, 'advise'; A. S. *ā-rēdan* = *a-*, intensive prefix, + *rēdan*, 'to advise.' Cf. *rede* (or *read*), 'counsel,' as in *Hamlet*, I. 3. 51, "recks not his own rede"; and Germ. *rath*, 'counsel.' But the commoner meanings of *areed* were (1) 'to divine, conjecture' (cf. the cognate Germ. *errathen*, 'to guess'); (2) 'to declare, tell,' as often in Spenser; cf. *Faerie Q.* I. 9. 28, II. 3. 14.

armoury, IV. 553; usually = the place where arms are kept; but here a collective word = arms. Cf. *Of Reformation*, "this is all her armoury, her munition, her artillery," *P. W.* II. 414. So in Spenser, *Faerie Q.* I. 1. 27.

arraign, III. 331; 'to call a person to account (Lat. *ratio*), to summon him before a tribunal to answer for his actions'; hence 'to charge, accuse.' Middle E. *arainen* = Cf. F. *arainer* (or *araisnier*), to 'cite, summon' = Low Lat. *arrationare* (*ad* + *rationem*).

assay, III. 90, IV. 932, 'try, attempt'; M. always uses this form, from O. F. *assai*, a variant of O. F. *essai*, whence the commoner form in E. *essay*. Lat. *exagium*, Gk *ἐξάγιον*, 'a weighing, trial of weight.'

ay me, IV. 86, 'alas'; cf. *Lycidas*, "Ay me! I fondly dream." It is frequent in Shakespeare. Cotgrave (1611) has, "Oh: aye me; an interjection expressing sense of paine, or of smart." It is the O. F. *aymi*, 'alas, for me'; cf. Ital. *ahimé*, Gk *αἰμι*.

betimes, III. 186, 'in good time; before it is too late.' Formed from *betime* + *s* of the adverbial genitive (Morris, *Outlines*, pp. 193, 194); cf. *besides* = *beside* + the same *s*. *Betime* = Middle E. *bi-time*, i.e. *by time*.

boon, IV. 242, 'gracious, bounteous'; a poetical use. Cf. Thomson, *Liberty*, II., "All that boon Nature could luxuriant pour"; and *Castle of Indolence*, II. 12, "all with which boon earth is fraught." Now only in the phrase "boon companion" (= convivial). F. *bon* (Lat. *bonus*).

bull, III. 492, a papal edict, of an important character: "so named from the *bulia* (or round leaden seal), which is attached to the document...and gives authenticity to it" (Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dict.*).

champain, IV. 134, 'open, flat'; applied to land; cf. Shak., *Lucrèce*, 1247, "a goodly champaign plain." Commonly a noun; cf. *Deut.* xi. 30, "in the champaign over against Gilgal." O. F. *champaigne*, modern F. *campagne*, Ital. *campagna*, Lat. *campania*—from *campus*.

charity, III. 216, IV. 756; from Lat. *carus*, 'dear'; then often used

=love, benevolence. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii., where the Revised Version of the Bible substitutes *love* for *charity* throughout, the Greek being ἀγάπη (Vulgate *caritas*). In the three places where M. uses the word the meaning is 'love.' Cf. XII. 584, "add love, By name to come callèd charity." So *charities*=feelings (or acts) of affection, IV. 756. Cf. Wordsworth, *Excursion*, IX. 238, "The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless;" and Tennyson, *Princess*, VII., "fair charities."

charm, IV. 642, 'song.' M. may have supposed it to be derived from Lat. *carmen*, 'song,' but really *charm* as used of the song of birds is of Anglo-Saxon origin. It is a variant form of Middle E. *cherme* or *chirm* = A. S. *cirm*. This old word (allied to *chirp*) meant "the blended singing or noise of many birds"; cf. Palsgrave (1530), "what a *cherme* these byrdes [birds] make, comme ces oyseaux jargonnet." A Shropshire rustic might still say, "what *char'm* them childern be'n makin i' the school" (i.e. what a confused noise). Tennyson uses *charm* accurately; cf. *The Progress of Spring*, IV., "I hear a charm of song thro' all the land." Probably *cherme* or *chirm* would never have got this variant form *charm* but for the influence of Lat. *carmen* (whence the common word *charm* is derived). See *New English Dictionary*.

Cherubim, III. 666, IV. 778; the correct form=Hebrew *Kherûbhîm*, the plural of *Kherûbh*. The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, singular, and *Cherubins*, plural. Cf. Coverdale, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isai.* xxxvii. 16; and Wyclif, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exod.* xxv. 18. Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, singular, and *Cherubims*, plural, were used, as being closer to Hebrew. For the singular M. wrote 'Cherube' (a still nearer approach in sound than 'Cherub' to the *û* of the Heb. *Kherûbh*), and the true plural *Cherubim*, adopted in the Revised Version of the Bible. *Kherûbh* is said to come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits. The Jews probably owed it to the Phœnicians.

coast, III. 71, IV. 782, 'to go along the border of a country,' i.e. skirt. Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus*, VII. 6, "From Paris next, coasting the realm of France, We saw the river Maine." O. F. *costoier*=modern F. *côteyer*, from O. F. *coste*=modern F. *côte*, 'rib, coast,' Lat. *costa*, 'rib, side.' Palsgrave (1530) has, "to coste a countrey or piace, ryde, go (i.e. walk), or sayle about it, *costoier* or *costoyer*."

damasked, IV. 334. The noun *damask* meant properly a rich kind of silk ornamented with raised figures, originally manufactured at Damascus. By metaphor, the word came to imply 'variegation'—as

here. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. 5. 123, "the constant red and mingled damask"; and Shak. *Sonnet* 130, "roses damask'd, red and white."

darkling, III. 39, 'in the dark'; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 2. 86, "wilt thou darkling leave me?" and *Lear*, I. 4. 237. It is a substantival adverb, in which *-ling* or *-long* is a relic of a dative case-ending; cf. *headlong*, *sidelong* (Middle E. *hedling*, *sideling*). In *Scottish* the form is *lins*; cf. *hafflins*=half, e.g. in Burns, *Cotter's Saturday Night*, 162, "while Jenny hafflins is afraid to speak."

decent, III. 644, 'comely'; used by M. only here and in *Il Penseroso*, 36, in each place=Lat. *decens*, 'comely, graceful.' Cf. Pope, *Elegy to the Memory*, "By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed." So 'decencies' as 'graceful acts or words' in VIII. 601. "

descant, IV. 603; strictly, a musical term for variations added to a "plain song," i.e. a melody in its simplest form. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, "after the angel had told his message in plain song, the whole chorus joined in descant." M., whose use of musical terms is very accurate, employs *descant* here to signify the varied notes of the nightingale. Cf. Isaac Walton's description—"the clear airs, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice" (i.e. the nightingale's), *Complete Angler*, I. 1. So Spenser says of the thrush, "the Mavis descant playes," *Epithalamium*, 81. Contrast "plain song cuckoo" in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 1. 134, said in allusion to the bird's simple, monotonous note.

dole, IV. 894, 'sorrow, pain'; O. F. *doel*, F. *deuil*=Late Lat. *dolor*, from the stem of *dolere*, 'to grieve' Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 13, "In equal scale weighing delight and dole." Cf. *dole-ful*.

elixir, III. 607=Arabic *el iksir*, the philosopher's stone; see note on III. 601, and cf. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 16331: "the philosophers ston | Elixir cleped." That was the strict sense of *elixir*; but it was also variously used by alchemists of (1) a liquid by which metals might be transmuted into gold, (2) a tincture of gold (*aurum potable*), which would prolong life; and from (2) there followed (3) the meaning—any life-giving cordial, or substance, or force. Arabic *el iksir* is really a Greek word (ξηρόν or ξήριον), and means 'the dry-principle.'

" **emblem**, IV. 703, 'inlaid or mosaic work,' i.e. ornamentation inserted into the surface of an object, e.g. a floor (as here) or a table. Gk *ἐμβλημα*, 'a thing put in, an ornament'—from *ἐμ*=*έν*, 'in' + *βάλλειν*, 'to put.' Now commonly='an allegorical representation of, a symbol.'

enamel, IV. 149. The Middle E. verb *en-amelen*, 'to enamel,' is derived from F. *en* (Lat. *in*) on + O. F. *esmail*, modern F. *émail*.

The original notion was 'something fused, melted,' F. *esmail* being a Teutonic word akin to Germ. *schmelzen*, 'to smelt.'

exorbitant, III. 177; strictly, 'going out of its circuit or track' (Lat. *orbita*); e.g. like a star leaving its orbit. Cf. M. in *Church Government*, "the proper *sphere* wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his *motion* without a hideous *exorbitancy* from law," P. W. II. 497. Here the general notion 'excessive,' e.g. of price, demands.

fledge, III. 627; again VII. 420. Minsheu (1617) has. "fledge, or feathered." Skeat says, "The past participle *fledged* is a substitute for an older adj. *fledge*, meaning 'ready to fly'; of which the Middle E. form was *flegge*=Icelandic *fleygr*, 'able to fly.' Cognate with *fledge* (whence *fledge-ling*) are *flee*, *fly*, *flight*."

forfeit, III. 176; to lose a thing as a penalty for misdeeds. O. F. *forfet* or *forfait*=Low Lat. *forisfactum*, 'a trespass, fine'—from *foris* + *facere*. Thence come Middle E. *forfeten*=(1) 'to do wrong'—cf. Palsgrave (1530), "what have I forfayted against you?" (2) 'to incur a penalty or loss for wrong-doing.' So "deadly forfeiture," III. 221, and "deadly forfeit" *Nativity Ode*, 5, ='penalty of death.'

glozing, III. 93, 'deceptive.' Middle E. *glosen* meant 'to make glosses, explain,' from O. F. *glose*=Late Lat. *glossa*, Gk γλῶσσα, which signified (1) the tongue, (2) a language, (3) a word, (4) a word needing explanation, (5) an explanation. But since many explanations are false, the verb *glosen* got the idea 'to interpret falsely,' whence 'to deceive.' So *glozing*='deceptive'; cf. George Herbert, *The Dotage*, "False glozing pleasures." Especially used of flattering, false speech; cf. *Comus*, 161, "words of glozing courtesy."

Gordian, IV. 348 = Lat. *Gordius*, 'pertaining to Gordius' (Gk. Γόρδιος). According to the legend, Gordius, the first king of Phrygia, tied an inextricable knot, the undoer of which was promised by an oracle the sovereignty of Asia. Alexander the Great cut the knot with his sword and fulfilled the oracle by conquering Asia. Cf. the old play *Lingua* (1607), "The Gordian knot which Alexander Great Did whilom cut with his all-conquering sword." Hence *Gordian*='inextricable.' Cf. George Herbert, *Invincible*, "Who can these Gordian knots untie?"

highth, III. 58, IV. 95; always written thus by M. The form is common in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and is said to survive in parts of America. *Highth* is curious in that it retains the *th* of the A. S. word *hēhtu*, represented now by *t*—cf. *heigh-t*. For the ordinary change of *th* (in A. S., þ) to *t*, cf. A. S. *gesih-þ*, later *gesih-t* or *sih-t*, now *sign-t*.

hosanna, III. 348, 'save, I pray' (or 'we pray'); *na* being a particle expressing entreaty, while the first part of the word is from the stem 'to save,' whence the name *Jesus* = 'Saviour,' and *Joshua*. Commonly 'hosanna' is a cry for deliverance; but sometimes of praise, as in *Matt.* xxi. 9, "Hosanna to the son of David... Hosanna in the highest." From the use of 'hosanna' in that passage Palm-Sunday was called Hosanna-Sunday in the mediæval Western Church.

imbrowned, IV. 246. With M., and with the 18th century poets influenced by his diction (especially Pope), *brown* = 'dark' (Ital. *bruno*) is a favourite epithet of shade. Cf. *Il Pen.*, 133, 'Shadows brown,' and his 2nd Ital. Sonnet ("al imbrunir di sera"). So Pope, *Eloisa to Abelard* 176; *Odyssey* XVII. 215 ("brown evening spreads her shade").

impurpled, III. 364; **purple**, IV. 764. Lat. *purpureus*, like Gk *πορφύρεος*, was not limited to what we call 'purple,' but denoted almost any rich colour, e.g. red, rosy, crimson, and in poets any dazzling, bright hue (as where Horace applies it to white swans, *Od.* IV. 1. 10). We find the same wide use of 'purple' in English (especially the Elizabethan) poets. Thus in Shakespeare's 'purple' = red (of blood) occurs several times; cf. *Romeo*, I. 1. 92. Often it is only a picturesque, literary epithet, as in Gray's "*purple light of love*" (*Progress of Poesy*); cf. IV. 763, 764, and Vergil's *lumen juvenatæ purpureum* (*Æn.* I. 590, 591).

influence, IV. 669, Late Lat. *influentia*, literally 'a flowing in upon.' It was an astrological term applied to the power over the earth, men's characters, fortunes etc., which was supposed to descend from the celestial bodies. Cf. "planetary influence," *Lear*, I. 2. 136, "skye influences," *Measure for Measure*, II. 1. 9. M. generally (but not in III. 118) uses *influence* with some reference to this astrological notion; cf. II. 1034, VII. 374, 375. Other terms due to astrology are 'disastrous' (see *Glossary* to bks. I., II.), 'saturnic,' 'jovial.'

interrupt, III. 84, *interrupted* = Lat. *interruptus*, 'broken off' (or between). Noticeable in Elizabethan English is the practice of modelling the past participle of verbs of Latin origin on the Latin form; it applies mainly to verbs of 1st and 3rd conjugations in Latin. Thus M. and Shak. use participles like 'separate' and 'frustrate' (*S. A.* 31, 589), 'consecrate' (*Titus Andronicus*, I. 14) and 'dedicate' (*Measure for Measure*, II. 2. 154), with many others (cf. 'increase,' III. 6), where *-ate* (modern E. *-ated*) = Lat. *-atus*, e.g. in *consecratus*. So with Lat. 3rd conjugation; cf. 'pollute' = *pollutus* (*Nativity Ode*, 41), 'select' = *selectus* (*S. A.* 363), 'submit' = *submitus* (*P. R.* I. 476) — with

'instruct,' 'attent,' 'inteat,' 'suspect,' 'deject,' 'addict,' all in M. or Shak. Further, participles not from Latin are abbreviated by analogy; cf. 'uplift,' I. 193, though 'lift' is Scandinavian.

its, IV. 813. In Elizabethan English the regular *neuter* possessive pronoun was *his*; cf. *Genesis* i. 12, "herb yielding seed after *his* kind," and iii. 15, "*it* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *his* heel." About 1600 *its* came into use, but slowly. Bacon has *its* rarely; the Bible of 1611 never; the nine instances in the 1st Folio (1623) of Shakespeare are probably corrupt, since in every extant work published during his lifetime the old idiom *his* is invariable—cf. *Julius Caesar*, I. 2. 123, 124, "that same eye...did lose *his* lustre." Milton, as an Elizabethan in his diction, avoids *its*: either (1) by personifying the noun, thus in his prose, abstract words like 'virtue,' 'truth,' are always followed by *her*; or (2) by retaining the old *neuter* use of *his*; cf. *Comus*, 246—248:

"Sure *some* *thing* holy lodges in that breast,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air,
To testify *his* hidden residence."

The only places in Milton's verse where *its* occurs are I. 254, "The mind is *its* own place"; IV. 813; and *Nativity Ode*, 106. I know of but two instances of *its* in his prose—*Areopagitica* and *Church Government*, P. W. II. 94, 471.

knots, IV. 242, flower-beds. M. recollected *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. 1. 249, "thy curious-knotted garden," i.e. laid out in nicely-arranged beds. The Elizabethan physician Dr Dee says in his *Diary*, "I hired Walter Hooper, to kepe my hedges and knots in good order" (Camden Society ed. p. 3). Cf. *Richard II.* III. 4. 43—46.

landskip, IV. 153; here and in the three other places where it occurs—II. 491, V. 142, *L'Allegro*, 70—spelt *lantskip* in the original editions. It was *verm* borrowed from Dutch artists (cf. Dutch *landschap*), and its forms in E. have been various—e.g. *landschaft*, *land-schape*, *landshape*, *landscip*. For *landskip* (apparently the oldest form in E.) cf. Cotgrave (1611), "Païsage: Landskip, countrey worke"; and *The Spectator*, 94, "a beautiful and spacious landskip." The suffix *-skip* = the noun *shape*; hence *land-skip* (or *-scape*) = 'shape of the land.' In many words *-skip* is softened to *-ship*, as in *friend-ship*; cf. Germ. *freund-schaft*.

lewd, IV. 193, 'base.' Middle E. *lewed* = A. S. *lêwed*. Its successive meanings were: (1) 'enfeebled,' *lêwed* (= *gêlêwed*) being the past participle of *lêwan*, 'to weaken'; (2) then 'ignorant'; (3) then 'lay,

belong to the laity' (*laicus*), because the laity, compared with the clergy, were *læwed* or *cewd*, i.e. ignorant; (4) then 'bad, worthless'; (5) then 'lustful,' i.e. bad in a particular way. Note the relation of (2) and (3), which some writers just reverse. Up till Shakespeare's time the commonest meaning was 'ignorant': in Shak. and M. 'bad.'

limbo, III. 495; strictly a term of Roman Catholic theology. "The Latin word *Limbus* (or 'fringe') was used in the middle ages for that place on the fringe or outskirts of hell in which the just who died before Christ were detained till our Lord's resurrection from the dead. It likewise signifies a place (also supposed to be beneath the earth and on the outskirts of hell) inhabited by infants who die in original sin" (Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dict.*). The first of these was the *Limbus Patrum*, the second the *Limbus Infantium*. Later arose the popular belief in a third region, the *Limbus Fatuorum*:-- the "Paradise of Fools" (IV. 496) after death and receptacle of all vain and foolish things. See *Henry VIII.* v. 4. 67.

livery, IV. 599; used by Elizabethan writers = any kind of dress, garb; cf. *L'Allegro*, 62, "The clouds in thousand liveries dight." Originally *livery* meant whatever was given (i.e. *delivered*) by a lord to his household, whether food, money, or garments; now it is limited to the dress of servants. From F. *livrer* = Low Lat. *liberare*, 'to abandon.'

manuring, IV. 628. The verb *manure* = 'to cultivate, till' (properly with the hand) was not uncommon in Elizabethan E. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II., "It is one thing to set forth what ground lieth unmanured, and another to correct ill husbandry in that which is manured." M. has it in XI. 28 and often in his prose-works (*P. W.* II. 463, III. 78). From F. *manœuvre* = Low Lat. *manuopera*, a working with the hand (*manus*).

marble, III. 564, 'bright as marble' (from root *mar-*, 'to gleam'). Cf. Gk *μαρμαλεω*, 'to glisten,' *μαρμαλεος*, 'glistening,' used of the stars or sky. In *Cymbeline*, v. 4. 120, 121 Shak. applies 'marble' and 'radiant' to the heaven in the same sentence.

numbers, III. 38, 'verse, poetry' = Lat. *numeri*; cf. Pope, "I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." So *numerous* = melodious; cf. V. 150, "in prose or numerous verse."

opacous, III. 418; again VIII. 23; from Lat. *opacus*, 'dark,' but more commonly *opaque* as in III. 619; cf. Fr. *opaque*. Minsheu (1617) has, "Opacuous, shadowie, darke and blacke."

orient, III. 507, IV. 238, 'lustrous.' In Elizabethan poetry 'orient' is a constant epithet of gems, especially pearls. Perhaps, used thus, it

first meant 'eastern,' *gems* coming from the Orient or East; then as these were bright it got the notion 'lustrous,' which suits, I believe, every passage where M. uses it, though in one or two places (e.g. in IV. 644) 'rising' = Lat. *oriens* is possible. Commonly he applies it to jewels or liquids; cf. "orient pearl" V. 2, "orient liquor" *Comus*, 65.

ponder, IV. 4001; in the literal sense of Lat. *ponderare*, 'to weigh'; a rare use, but cf. Sufrey's *Poems* (1852 ed. p. 25):

"Hot gleams of burning fire, and easy sparks of flame,
In balance of unequal weight he pondereth by aim."

The old English Lat. Dictionary called *Manus palus vocabulorum*, 1570, has, "to ponder, *ponderare*, *librare*."

purlieu, IV. 404; here in its strict sense = the open ground on the borders of a forest; cf. *As You Like It*, IV. 3. 77, "in the purlieus of this forest." Blount (1672) defines *purlieu* as "all that ground near any Forest, which being made forest [by certain Statutes] was...severed again from the same," i.e. disafforested and restored to the former owner. The process whereby this was done was called in legal Latin *perambulatio* = walking over the land to settle its boundaries; then the land itself came to be called *perambulatio*, rendered in French by *pourallee* (*pour* + *aller*). Now, *purlieu* is from *pourallee*, but its form was affected by the mistaken idea that it was from F. *pur lieu* = Lat. *purus locus*, 'a cleared space.' Later, it came to mean any outlying parts—cf. e.g. the purlieus of a city. So M. uses it in II. 833.

purpose, IV. 337; in sense and etymology = F. *propos*, 'conversation.' Cf. the verb *propose* = 'talk,' in Shakespeare, e.g. in *Much Ado*, III. 1. 3, "find my cousin...proposing with the prince." Spenser often has *purpose* = 'discourse'; cf. *Faerie Q.* I. 12, 13, "they lowly sitt, and fitting purpose frame."

quire, III. 217, IV. 264; the usual spelling till the end of the 17th century; from O. F. *quer*. Cf. the *Prayer-Book*, "In quires and places where they sing." The modern form *choir*, like modern F. *chœur*, shows more clearly the derivation from Lat. *chorus*, Gk *χορὸς*.

quit, IV. 51; Middle E. *quiten*, 'to settle, repay,' from O. F. *quiter* = Late Lat. *quietare*, 'to make matter quiet (*quietus*), i.e. settle it.' In Late Lat. *quietus* has the sense 'discharged, clear of,' especially 'clear of a debt.' F. *quittance* = a receipt.

ramp, IV. 343; a word used in several senses, e.g. 'to rage'—cf. "a ramping and a roaring lion," *Psalm* xxii. 13, *Prayer-Book*; 'to tear, snatch'; 'to rear up on the hind legs'—cf. the heraldic term "lion rampant"; 'to spring.' The last meaning seems most suitable

here; cf. *S. A.* 139, "lion ramp" = lionlike spring. *F.* *ramp*, 'to climb.'

rapt, III. 522, 'caught up'; it should be written *rapped*, being the past participle of *rap*, 'to seize hurriedly,' Middle E. *rapen* = Icelandic *vrápa*, 'to rush, hurry.' Cf. *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 51, "what...thus raps you?" i.e. what excites you thus? The form *rapt* comes through confusion with Lat. *raptus*, the past participle of *raptare*, 'to seize.'

Sabean, IV. 162, 'belonging to *Saba*.' *Saba* is the classical form, used in the Septuagint and Vulgate, of *Shēba*, which "embraced the greater part of Arabia Felix" (Smith's *Bible Dict.*). Elizabethan writers constantly write *Saba*; cf. Marlowe's *Faustus*, V. 154, "As wise as *Saba*" (i.e. the Queen of Sheba), and XII. 22, "India, *Saba*, and farther countries in the east."

scape, IV. 7, 8; originally short for *escape*, it became an independent form and should be printed *scape* not '*scap*'; cf. *estate* and *state*. *Escape* = O. F. *escaper* (modern *échapper*), literally 'to slip out of one's cape' (Lat. *ex + cappa*), and so 'to steal off, escape.'

sdein, IV. 50; cf. Spenser, *Faerie Q.* III. I. 55:

"For great rebuke it is love to despise,

Or rudely *sdeigne* a gentle hart's [heart's] request."

This form is modelled on Ital. *sdegnare*, while the common form *disdain* comes through O. F. *desdegnier*. Lat. *dis-*, a negative prefix, + *dignari*, 'to think worthy (*dignus*).'

secure, IV. 791; used, as often in Elizabethan E., = Lat. *securus*, 'careless, free from fear'; it implies over-confidence, a wrong sense of safety. Cf. Fletcher's quibble, "To secure yourselfs from these, Be not too secure in case." In *Macbeth*, III. 5. 32, *security* = carelessness.

Seraphim, III. 381; then supposed to come from Hebrew root 'to burn'; cf. Blount (1672), "Seraphim, i.e. *fulgentes aut comburentes*; so called, for their burning with divine love and charity." Hence "*bright Seraphim*" here, and in *At a Solemn Musick*, 10, "*bright Seraphim*, in *burning row*"; and "*fiery Seraphim*," II. 512. Really *Seraphim* is from a root 'to exalt,' and means 'the exalted ones.'

The plural of *Seraph* (III. 667) has much the same history as *Cherub* (see p. 129): *Seraphins* in some old writers—cf. Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), "where *Seraphins* doe Praise the highest in their glorious flames" (Arber, p. 169); *Seraphims* in the Bible; *Isai.* vi. 2, 6; *Seraphim* in *M.*

serenate, IV. 769 = Ital. *serenata*, 'evening music performed under a

lady's window by a lover.' The common form *serenade* comes through French from Italian. Lat. *serenare* = 'to make merry,' from *serenus*, 'bright.'

soveran, III. 22, 145, IV. 691; spelt thus always in *P. L.*; cf. Ital. *sovrano*. The common form *sovereign* = O. F. *soverain*, later *souverain*. Lat. *superanus*, 'chief,' from *super*, 'above.'

succinct, I. 643; Lat. *succinctus*, the past participle of *succingere*, 'to gird, tuck up.' Cf. Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 329, "Four Knaves in garbs succinct."

thwart, IV. 357, 'to cross'; as a verb now only figurative = 'to hinder,' but then used also in the literal sense, 'to pass across'—as here; cf. *Pericles*, IV. 4. 10, "thwarting the wayward seas," i.e. journeying across. Minsheu (1617) has, "Traverser. To thwart, or goe overthwart, crosse or passe over."

tiar, III. 625, *tiara*; strictly 'a wreathed ornament for the head' (such as the Persians wore): Gk *τιάρα* (or *τιάρας*) is a Persian word, perhaps from Persian *tāwar*, 'crowned.' *Tiara*, the common form in E., comes straight from Lat. *tiara*: *tiar* comes indirectly from Lat. through F. *tiare*. Tennyson speaks of flowers "studded white with disks and tiars" (*Arabian Nights*).

touch, IV. 686; often applied thus to the action of the hand on a musical instrument. Cf. *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 107, 108:

"whose heavenly touch

Upon the lute doth ravish human sense";

and *The Merchant of Venice*, V. 57, 58:

"soft stillness and the night

Become the touches of sweet harmony."

transverse, III. 488; an adj. = Lat. *transversus*, the past participle of *transvertere*; literally 'turned across, aside = out of the straight course.' Cf. *S. A.* 209, "drove me transverse," i.e. like a vessel out of its direction.

umpire, III. 195; the arbitrator who decides a dispute; hence, a judge. Put for *numpire* = Middle E. *noumpire* or *nounpcre* = O. F. *non par* = Lat. *non par*, 'not equal, odd'; that is, there being two disputants, the umpire was a third man, presumed to be *impartial* (note the same metaphor of 'unequal,' Lat. *impar*). For loss of *n*, see Morris, *Outlines*, p. 72.

unreproved, IV. 493, 'blameless'; cf. *L'Allegro*, 40, "unreproved pleasures free," and Spenser, *Faerie Q.* II. 7. 16, "unreproved truth." This use of the commonly passive termination *-ed* = *-able* is frequent in

Elizabethan E., especially with words in which the negative prefix *un-* occurs. Cf. *unremoved*, IV. 987, *unvalued*=invaluable, *Richard III.* I. 4. 27, *unavoided*=inevitable, *Richard II.* II. 1. 268. The use of the adjectival and participial terminations was not so defined and regular then as now.

utter, III. 16=*outer*; they are duplicate forms (and comparatives) from A. S. *ūt*, 'out'; cf. the phrase "*utter barrister*"=those that plead outside the bar. In *Ezekiel* x. 5 the old reading "the *utter* court" has been changed to *outer*. Cf. I. 72; VI. 716.

virtue, III. 586, IV. 198, 'efficacy, power'; a frequent Elizabethan use. Cf. *Luke* viii. 46, "Virtue is gone out of me." So *virtuous*=full of efficacy (cf. *Conius*, 621, "every virtuous plant"), and *virtual* in same sense XI. 338. Lat. *virtus*, 'worth,' manly excellence (Lat. *vir*, man).

weeds, III. 479, 'dress'; A. S. *wēd*, 'garment.' Often so used by Elizabethans; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 2. 71, "Weeds of Athens he doth wear." Now only in the phrase 'widow's weeds,' except in poetry; cf. Tennyson, "In words like weeds I'll wrap me 'er" (*In Memoriam*, v.).

wert, III. 9; cf. Shak. often, e.g. *Richard II.* III. 2. 73, "hearing thou wert dead"; V. 5. 73, 74, "I was a poor groom...when thou wert king." *Wert* is the preterite of O. E. *wesan*, 'to be,' and an older form than *wast*. A still older form of the 2nd person was *were*; Morris quotes from an O. E. work, *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of Manhode*, "Litel thou were tempted, or litel thou were stired" (p. 35). Hence *wert* is an intermediate form between *were* and *wast* (which is not found till the 14th century). Morris, *Outlines*, pp. 182, 183.

wreak, IV. 11; now commonly used='to inflict,' as in 'to wreak vengeance.' But the original sense was 'to avenge'; cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, III. 50, "Come wreak his loss, whom bootless you complain." Cf. too Tennyson, *Gareth and Lynette*, "Kill the foul thief, and wreak me for my son." The 1st and 2nd editions of *P. L.* have *wreck*, which is practically another form of *wreak*. Germ. *rächen*, 'to avenge,' is cognate.

yeacling, III. 434, 'just born'; from *yea*=*ean*. "The difference between *ean* and *yea* is easily explained; in the latter, the prefixed *y-* represents the very common A. S. prefix *ge-*, readily added to any verb without affecting the sense" (Skeat). Hence *ean*=A. S. *ēdnian*; *yea*=A. S. *ge-ēdnian*—both meanings, 'to bring forth young,' i.e. of any kind; but now *ean* or *yea* is commonly used of sheep. Shak. uses *eanling*=young lamb, *Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 80.

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